

Bishop *Bramhall's*
VINDICATION
OF
himself and the Episcopal Clergy,
FROM THE
Presbyterian Charge
OF
POPERY,

As it is managed by Mr. *Baxter* in his
Treatise of the *Grotian* Religion.

Together with a
P R E F A C E
SHEWING
What Grounds there are of
Fears and Jealousies of **POPERY.**

LONDON, Printed by *A. C.* for *James Collins*,
at the Kings Arms in *Ludgate-street.* 1672.



A
P R E F A C E
To the
R E A D E R.

READER,



His ensuing Treatise being somewhat superannuated, the Bookseller was very solicitous to have it set off with some Preface, that might recommend it to the present Genius of the Age, and reconcile it to the present Juncture of Affairs. And though I am none of the most Zealous Patrons of the Press, and am at this time as busie and as much concerned as De-Wit, or any of the High and Mighty Burgomasters, in Matters of a closer and more comfortable importance to my self and my own Affairs: Yet I could not but yield so far, to the importunity, as to improve ~~any~~ fragment of time that I could get into my own disposal, towards the Gratification of

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his Request. And that has brought forth this Preface, such an one as it is; for how it will prove, I my self neither am, nor (till 'tis too late) ever shall be a competent Judge, in that it must be ravisht out of my hands before my thoughts can possibly be cool enough to review or correct the Indecencies either of its stile or contrivance. But which way my mind will work it self and its thoughts, I am neither Prophet nor Astrologer enough certainly to foretel; though the Heads I at this moment, and under the present Schemes and Aspects of the Heavens, intend to treat of, are only these two: First, To say something of the Treatise it self; and then, Secondly, Something of the seasonableness of its Publication; and this (unless my humour chance to jade me) is likely enough to enter me upon a farther prosecution of the Argument it self, as far as it has a more particular reference to the present state of things: And from this it is odds but I shall take occasion to bestow some Animadversions upon one J. O. the great Bell-weather of Disturbance and Sedition.

As to the first, I suppose it is not at all material to give an account either by what misfortunes it came to be so long hidden from publick view, or by what lucky accidents it came to be so long preserved in private hands: It is enough to let thee know, that at length it hapned to fall to the possession of one that had
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always had a very high esteem of the Authors very great Worth and Abilities, and that therefore was very unwilling that any thing should perish that was written by so great and so accomplisht a man: A man so great and so accomplisht, that the meanest character we can give of him, is, that he was one of the greatest of the Age he lived in. For in the first place, He was by Nature furnisht with an unusual mixture of wit, sagacity, and judgment; Perfections that rarely meet in one person, but were all eminent and of equal strength in the Genius of his mind. And in the next place, his Natural Parts were admirably improved by study and industry in all the choicest and most useful parts of Learning. He was an excellent Divine, an accurate Lawyer, and an exact Historian, and (as far as the Prejudices of the Age would permit him) an acute Philosopher. And then, Lastly, All these mighty Advantages both of Nature and Education, were improved to their utmost usefulness and perfection by experience and publick Employment. His Book and his Retirement did not make him lazy and unwieldy for Business; but being of a brave and enterprizing temper, of an active and spritely mind, he was always busied either in contriving or performing great Designs. He was indefatigable in his Undertakings, and undaunted under his Sufferings;

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ferings; and he had not only the Art, but the Opportunity of bringing forth his Learning into use and practice. And as he was able to accomplish the most gallant attempts, so was he always ready not onely to justify their Innocence, but to make good their Bravery, in spite of all the Accusations of Envy, and all the Arts of Detraction. He neither did nor thought any thing, but what was great and extraordinary. In short, his Actions were equal to his Abilities, and his Writings equal to both.

It is true, the Church of Ireland was the largest Scene of his Actions; but yet there in a little time he wrought out such wonderful Alterations, and so exceeding all belief, as may convince us that he had a Mind large and active enough to have managed the Roman Empire, at its greatest extent. For as he finished all the glorious Designs that he undertook, so he managed all his Affairs with that prudence and caution, that the malice and cunning of all his Enemies, though they were invited and encouraged by those that were to be his Judges, could not find out matter enough to make out so much as the appearance of a plausible Accusation: so that the infinite pains they were at to ensnare and to blast his innocence, became an irrefragable testimony both of his Wisdom and his Integrity. No Injustice

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Justice was bold and hardy enough to offer violence to such an exact and unblemish'd Vertue; and in all his Troubles from wild and unreasonable men, his Reputation was still preserved as clear and as spotless as his Conscience: They were both Armour of Proof against Tories and against Presbyterians. Though at length that could not exempt him from being involved in the common ruine, and he was then forced even to put himself into Banishment, when nothing was so criminal or so unsafe at home as Loyalty. His righteous Soul could not endure to behold the Insolence and Hypocrisie of those Goodly and Rebel Saints, whose very best pretences were a more desperate affront both to Government and Religion, than perhaps any Age or Historian can parallel; but whose worst practices were villanous not only beyond example, but belief.

And thus Christendom became the place of his Habitation, or rather of his Pilgrimage; and that was some considerable advantage to the largeness of his thoughts: for as he was rarely adorned in all kinds of true and useful Knowledge, and as the main Argument of his Pains and Consultations, was the Peace and Interest of Christendom; so he was confirmed in the reasonableness of his Projects, or rather Opinions concerning it by his Travels and Observations. He was before excellently skilled in

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the Customs and Constitutions of the Primitive and Apostolical Church; but now he had more opportunity, or at least more leisure to observe all the miscarriages of the present Churches, and particular Combinations of the Christian World, by their several deviations from their original Practice and Institution. And that was the Method he prescribed to all dissenting Parties, in order to a Catholick Agreement, and a sober Reformation to forego all their upstart and unwarrantable Innovations, and return to the ancient and Apostolical simplicity; a thing very easie and very practicable, were not Interest and Ignorance engaged against it. Not that he was so vain or so presuming as to hope to see it effected in his own days: He too well understood with how many invincible Prejudices it was obstructed; he therefore only designed to declare his Judgment to the Wise and the Unprejudicate, and so to leave it to Posterity, and some happy Juncture of Affairs to accomplish what he could only advise and wish for.

But by this plain dealing with all Parties, it is not to be doubted (because it always so happens in the like cases) but that he must displease and disoblige all; but more especially he raised the Choler, and enraged the Zeal of the Geneva Faction; that Waspish Sect being according to the humour and spirit of their Founder,

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Founder, never able to bear the least Affront or Contradiction. And then immediately there was no gainsaying but that he must be as arrant a Papist as Antichrist himself. This (cry they) smels of a Spanish-Popish-Jesuitical-Arminian Plot. It is a plain Prosecution of the Cardinal of Lorrains design, that allowed annual Pensions, even to the Lutheran Ministers themselves to revile and preach down Mr. Calvin, thereby to reduce the People to Popery. That crafty Statesman knew well enough, that he was the only *obstacle* to their Mystery of Iniquity; and were he but once removed out of the way, the Apostolical Chair would quickly be restored to its ancient Empire and Sovereignty over the Christian World. And hence the Alarm is given to the People both from the Pulpit and the Press, to stand upon their Guard against such dangerous and Babylonish Attempts. These moderate and lukewarm men are but the Forerunners of the man of Sin, and do but prepare the ways for his Entrance by removing the strongest, and most stubborn Opposition against him.

And what though he deal as roundly, and much more severely with the Church of Rome, that is but a meer disguise for his present turn; these hard Conditions are easily shaken off, when once the Protestant cause and interest is utterly expired. And

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And therefore he and his Partizans may publish as many Books as they please against their present abuses and corruptions; but the most charitable design they can be supposed to aim at, is to bring in a more refined and a more cunning Popery. And when this surmise is once voted and noised abroad, and vouch'd by publick fame or their own vulgar Tales, it is in vain to remonstrate to their rudeness and disingenuity. It is not, no, it cannot be doubted of by any but such as are either privy, or, at least, well-wishers to the design; such indeed may pretend or counterfeit a Disbelief, to cover their intentions, and to escape suspicion. And by this Artifice they begin first to seize upon all men in their Wits, either for madmen or for parties in the Plot. And then the common people dare not but believe it in their own defence, lest they should be suspected to have lost their Understanding as well as their Religion. And by this rude and boisterous Confidence are they able, as oft as they please, to raise any disingenuous and spiteful surmise into popular Reputation, and by strength of face and forehead to bear out the credit of the largest and most abusive Lies. And it is well known what strange and monstrous stories they obtruded upon the Multitude against the King, the Bishops, and the Church of England, in defiance even to
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common sense and the most undeniable Experience.

But no man was more vehemently charged and more confidently condemned of this Attempt than this Reverend Prelate; partly because he was a zealous and resolute Assertour of the publick Rites and Solemnities of the Church against all their wild and fanatick Pranks; partly because he expunged some of their dear and darling Articles, not only from the Christian Faith, but from the Protestant Cause, in that they were so far from being or pretending to be of Apostolical Antiquity, that they were much younger than the Reformation it self, or, at best, were but the Opinions of some private Doctors; and were never establish'd into Articles, by any publick Laws or Councils: or if they were woted for Orthodox Doctrines in any meeting in Germany or Geneva, they were never received for such in the Church of England; and therefore ought not to be charged upon the Protestant Cause as such, much less upon the English Reformation, when it was never any part of its design to model new Bodies of Orthodoxy, nor to exchange the old School-Doctors for Calvinian Systems and Syntagms, but meerly to clear the Christian Faith of all Corruptions and innovations, and reform it into its primitive and uncorrupted simplicity.

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city. And if any Errours or fond Opinions should have escaped her first Observation, she reserves a power in herself, to review her own Decrees; and either to ratifie, or abolish them, as they shall, upon mature deliberation, appear consonant to this Rule, and agreeable to this design. This was ever the Doctrine of the sober and intelligent men of the Church of England, as well as her own declared sense. They would never submit to any Authority of a later date, than the four first general Councils, and as for all forrain Churches of the modern stamp, they were so far from being determined by them, that they censured all their proceedings, and rejected all their Doctrines, that fell short of, or went beyond their own standard of Prudence and Moderation.

But this was not to be endured by the fierce and fiery Calvinists, to have all their Orthodox stuff. cut off at one blow; had they spent so much pains, and gained so much reputation, by their skill in Polemick Theology, and must they now throw away all their Problems, Subtilties, and Distinctions, and must all their deep and solid Learning be at last despised as a silly and impertinent piece of Duncery? This certainly must needs be very grievous, and somewhat provoking to great Clerks. Men care not to be convinced, that they have wasted so
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much Oyl and Sweat to no purpose. And though they are not able to justify the Follies and Errors of their Education; yet being flush'd with the Glory that they have gain'd among their own party, by their skill and ability in contending for their Opinion, it is easie to imagine how stubbornly they will struggle in its defence, rather than quit the support of their pride and self-conceitedness. This Itch is so incident and delightful to humane Nature, that where it is not over-ruled by an habitual Integrity and Discretion, it is the most powerful (not to say the only) motive of all our Actions; and has such a strict and undiscernable Influence upon our most serious thoughts, that if well-meaning men are not very careful, or very curious in observing, and preventing its inward motions, it will quickly prevail over their Understandings, insinuate into all their designs, and poyson their best Intentions and Resolutions. So that they may easily believe themselves passionately concerned for the love of Truth and the Glory of God; whilst all their mighty zeal and passion may be nothing else than Eruptions of pride and vanity. And wherever this Delusion rules, it is the most impetuous and most importunate Principle in the world. No sort of men so boisterous and irresistible as those, whose imaginations are overcome with the vehemence of its delights.
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And this is the case of our peevish and Grub-street Divines; they have, when time was, been looked upon as Authors of esteem and credit in the world, and were once admired, and applauded, for the deep and the solid men of the Age; and as they have walked the Streets, have sometimes had the pleasure of a this is that Demosthenes, from the more knowing and judicious Tankard-bearers: And in all Assaults and Challenges from the Enemies of the precisest, and most refined sort of Orthodoxy, they have been called forth to defend the Cause, and in all Tryals of controversial Skill have ever come off with success and victory. Truth has always hung upon their Pens, and they have been courted, and consulted as the Oracles of their Age; Learned men have submitted themselves to their Judgment, and their Writings have stood or fell at their Tribunal, and in all the nice and more difficult Controversies their Decree has determined what is Orthodox, and what Heretical. Now these men must needs lye under vehement temptations of being very troublesome and pragmatical, and upon every trifling occasion of annoying the publick with perpetual Pamphlets and Scribbles.

And I cannot divine what other provocation Mr. B. had to meddle with Grotius or Bishop Bramhall, then that they were learned enough

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to despise the Ignorance of the highest knowledge that he or any of his Brethren could pretend to. And certainly he must have been bravely flushed and perch't in his own conceit, that could prevail with himself to venture, upon three or four days study, to bolt forth such bold and rash censures against two such great Wits and great Scholars. Had he then been furnished with Learning enough to understand the vast disproportion between his own and their abilities, he would rather have trembled at their Names, than have attempted their Reputations. Mr. B. must not think himself undervalued by being placed so many degrees below them; for alas! it is not every Rabbi that is sufficiently qualified to sit at their Feet. And I doubt not but the opportunities he has since had to improve and raise himself to an higher form of Learning, have convinced him of the confidence and unadvisedness of that undertaking; as the rudeness and extravagance of his own Party has taught him more candour and civility towards the Church of England. And therefore this Treatise was not published to impair his Esteem, in the least, but for a Correction of his scribbling humour, and a warning to their Rat-Divines, that are so perpetually nibbling and gnawing other mens Writings; that by this example they may learn how easie a thing it is to blast such hasty Conceptions, and be a little
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frighted from being so very pert and forward at such uncivil Attempts. For upon Perusal of it, I cannot imagine any man either so partial or so ignorant, as not to grant that our Authour has with Smartness enough, and (considering all Circumstances) Modesty too much, not only answered but baffled all such Accusations of his Adversary as are at all material in themselves or pertinent to the Cause, and that without condescending to play with him at his Systematical and Push-pin Divinity.

But the main Reason that put me upon the Publication of it, was thereby to give some check to their present disingenuity; for though Mr. B. have learnt more modesty then to be so prodigal as formerly in sending abroad his hard ensures and positive Decrees against every Body and upon every Occasion; yet others that pretend to as great an Interest and Authority with the holy Brotherhood still persevere in the same rudeness and incivility towards the Church of England, and upon every slight accident are beating up the Drums against the Pope and Popish Plots; they describe Popery in every common and usual chance, and a Chimney cannot take Fire in the City or the Suburbs, but they are immediately crying Jesuites and Fireballs. And as for all those that wear Canonical habits,
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and walk in Cassocks and Girdles; they are at least Pensioners to his Holiness; and let them protest or pretend what they please, they are Popelings in their Hearts, and Worshippers of the Beast in secret, and own him too shamefully in their open and avowed Practices. In so much that the great Scribler of the Party, (J. O.) blushes not to charge them with a total Apostasie from the Reformation, and to plead this in justification of their Nonconformity.

We fear not (says Shamefacedness) to own that we cannot Conform to Arminianism, Socinianism on the one hand, (he might as well have added all the Isms in the Old

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Testament, Perizzitism, Hivitism, Jebusitism, Hittitism, &c.) or Popery on the other, (and why not Sorcery and Extortion too?) with what new or specious Pretences soever they may be blended.

This is his old Modesty, and brawny-faced Confidence: who, beside this humble, melting, broken hearted Secret One, could have vented such lofty strains of Candour and Ingenuity? But the Viper is so swell'd with Venom, that it must either burst or spit its Poison. The Dungbil is his only Magazine, and Calumny his only Weapon; and he has no other Apology to justify the Rudeness and Incivility of his

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Scriblings, but by such loud and thundering Falsifications. And though he has been so often and so shamefully corrected for these base and unworthy Arts, yet 'tis not in his power to forbear them, when they are the result of his Humour and Genius. For had his Complexion been capable of a Blush or a modest Thought, I dare say he has not wanted for Means and Opportunities of learning better Manners. But he is so far from being reformed by the sharpest Rebukes and Corrections, that they only provoke him to greater Sullenness, and more enraged Abuses; and in stead of being brought to Tears and Repentance, he improves in the Boldness and Insolence of his Aspersions. It is not sufficient now adays to represent us Papists, Socinians, and Hereticks; that is an easie and an ordinary Slander; he was able to face that out when he was but a Novice, and unexperienced in the Arts of Malice and Confidence: These were his common Performances twenty or thirty years ago. But now his Mightiness scorns to stoop his Prowess to such low and creeping Achievements; they become not the Courage and the Confidence of so Renowned a Wight; he disdains to vent a Slander that is not too big for any Mans Throat or Conscience but his own. And now things are come to that desperate pass in the Church of England, that they
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are not contented to be Jesuites and Socinians themselves, but (O Tempora! O Mores!) they will force all others, that desire to be admitted into her Communion, to submit to Popish and Heretical Subscriptions; and there is no other cause of the Independent Separation, than that they dare not in Conscience conform to Popery and Socinianism. Dear Heart! How could I hug and kiss thee for all this love and sweetness? Well fare poor Macedo for a modest Fool! He could never have rubb'd his Forehead to such a burnisht Confidence, as to venture upon such notorious and palpable Forgeries, so contradictory both in themselves, and to every Mans own Knowledge and Experience. For in the Name of Truth, what new Doctrines have we made necessary to Conformity, over and above the old Articles, which yet he is so far from bringing under this Indictment, that he makes our departure from them the very Charge of our Apostasie? So that how wild and wanton so ever we may be in our own Sentiments, there is nothing to be found in Nature of so daring and desperate a Confidence, beside the great and renowned J. O. as to belch in the face of the Sun such foul and uncleanly Railings. But he is a Man of that inveterate and incurable Pride, that there is no rancour spiteful or disingenuous enough to be admired at in him.

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But now that I have seized him, I cannot let him pass without taking notice to the World of another eminent instance of his Ravishing Candour and Ingenuity: That when he had without any Provocation, (though that he never needs) in a publick and solemn way undertaken the Defence of the Fanaick Cause, and when he had reason done him in a particular Rejoinder to all his Pretences and Exceptions, such as they were, he could think of satisfying his People, and salving his Reputation by Scribling over the very same stuff again, and presenting it to the World in a new Pamphlet, and under another Title, without regarding how comfortably it had been exposed and baffled by a loving Friend, even for his own dear sake. For whoever will be at the idle pains to peruse his late Discourse of Evangelical Love, Church Peace and Unity, will never be able to find one syllable to the purpose, beside a perpetual Repetition of the old worn-out Story of Unscriptural Ceremonies, and some frequent Whinings, and sometimes Ravings about his hard usage in being so severely chastised, and innumerable Suggestions that all that are or pretend to be Loyal to the present Settlement of the Church of England, are not so upon any Principles of Integrity or Conscience, but purely for their own secular and carnal Ends: i. e. in plain English,

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lish, they are all downright Knaves. These are the most pertinent passages I can meet with in the Book, but they are not very new; some others indeed I meet with somewhat newer, but then they are not very pertinent. It is a very new discovery to demonstrate that the Church of England is desperately Schismatical, because the Independents are resolved one and all to continue separate from her Communion; and though it is not as new, yet it is as odd an Observation, that all Parties in Christendom (except only the little Flock of their own Secret Ones) are profest Rebels to the most necessary and indispensable Institutions of the Lord Christ, that none of them ought to be suffered to live in an open and habitual contempt of his Laws; particularly that the Church of England is as little to be endured as the Church of Rome, because they persecute those that are better than themselves; and St. John tells us, (Revel. 21. 8.) Murder is as bad as Idolatry. If it will do him or his cause any kindness, we will let these pass for New Lights, and wonderful pat to the business of Toleration. Did ever Man write or speak with such a fluent Vein of looseness and impertinency? Is it credible that any Creatures that pretend to common sense, and the shapes of Men, could ever accept, much less admire such dull and intolerable

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Bungling? And yet it is rare and admirable to the Wits of the Congregation; and the Doctor is a wonderfully precious and convincing Man. But the truth is, he has an Advantage above most of his Neighbours for Writing Non-sense, in that his common Readers despair beforehand to understand the Categoricalness of his Logick: Otherwise he abounds so plentifully with Absurdities and Incoherences in every Page, that there is nothing to keep him from being despicable even to the Apron-men of his own Dispensation, but a peculiar Uncomeliness and Obscurity of stile; whereby as they cannot hope to carry along with them the Thread and Connexion of the Discourse, so neither dare they presume to observe its Flaws and Weaknesses; but (if their Prejudices so incline them) they suppose at all adventure some extraordinary depth of Reason and Metaphysicks, that Men of their Education are neither able to fathom, nor obliged to understand.

And he may take his Liberty, as much and as long as he pleases, to amuse his own gazing and admiring Drove with this profound and wonderful Non-sense, provided he will be advised not to lay out his Talent to the disturbance of his Neighbours: But if he will be venting his Gall and his Ignorance against the establish'd Laws and Constitutions of the Commonwealth,

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monwealth, he must not take it ill, if his shameful folly (not to name something worse) be discovered and laid open to the World. And therefore in my Opinion it would be very good advice, if he would be perswaded to give over this thread-bare Controversie of Church-Government, and spend the remainder of his Days in embellishing and illustrating that great and important Discovery, with which he has so lately obliged the World, viz. That the Determination of a Septimary Portion in the Hebdomadal Revolution, is, or is not, (I care not whether) an addition of the Law Decalogical to the Law Natural. Ah! What Edifying Doctrine is this to the White-Aprons? It could be no less to them than a Demonstrative Evidence of the Morality and Divine Institution of the Lords Day; and doubtless they would, with the Jews, sooner Rest themselves than a small Joint of Mutton upon the Day of Sacred Rest. He may (I say) trifle with his own Proselytes after this rate as much and as long as he pleases, and nobody will be much concerned to disabuse People so resolved to abuse themselves. But if he will not be satisfied with the Priviledge of being learnedly impertinent, unless he may make use of his Liberty to discompose the Publick Peace, he may thank himself for what will follow: For he will be sure to encounter

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to his cost too many Persons that love their Country too well, to suffer it to be over-run and debauched by such shallow Mountebanks and Impostors.

But my just Indignation against this Mans insolent and insufferable Behaviour, transports me into too vehement and smart Resentments of his vile and dirty Practices; yet because he is so forward upon all occasions, and without them too, to appear in the Head of the Party, and is at present not only the chief Ringleader, but the only Champion of the Cause; I cannot prevail with my self to let him go yet, without remarking for the prevention of all their Subterfuges and Tricks of escape, one little Artifice whereby his Followers would salve and redeem his Reputation, viz. That his Adversary was not so ingenuous as to engage him upon equal terms, but took advantage of his old Miscarriages and Engagements in the late Rebellion, and prevailed more by personal Reflections than Strength of Argument; so that though he could with ease have Replied to all his pertinent Objections, yet he could not in discretion revive so many old and forgotten Stories.

1. Be it so. And if he stand indicted of such Enormities against his Prince and Countrey, as are neither to be excused nor defended,

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defended, yet however it is not modest for him to defie his Accusation as he has done in publick by charging it with slander and scurrility. If he be not guilty, he ought to plead his Innocence; if he be, he might have some reason to complain of want of Candour, but none at all of want of Truth. And it only becomes his Confidence, to defeat the Credibility of a plain and undeniable matter of fact, by buffing and giving the lye in plain English, and that in defiance to the Convictions of his own Conscience, to the Testimony of his own Writings, and to the Notoreity of his own Practices. This is pretty well for Modesty. But if he ever were guilty, he is so still; for nothing can recover his Innocence, but a sincere and hearty Repentance; and till he has cut off all his Ancient Crimes, by some publick acknowledgment and satisfaction, he cannot be supposed to have forsaken his old Dispensation, but still to continue as very a secret one as ever. And now had he been proceeded with, as they pretend, it would not have been, in the least, impertinent to his Adversary's Cause or Argument, whilst he was persuading the Government to beware of that sort of men, to represent how those that are most forward to appear in their Defence, were never considerable for any thing but Sedition and Disloyal-

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Disloyalty: And that is a very strong Accession to the direct force of his Argument, when we find none concern'd to enervate or disparage its Evidence, but such as are known to design nothing but mischief or disturbance. And there can scarce be a more effectual Proof of the Dangers, and Ill-consequences of Toleration, than that J. O. and some others of his Kidney, so much bestir themselves to obtain it; all Governments have certainly reason enough to be jealous of all such designs as are carried on by professed Enemies of the State. The only unanswerable Objection that the Nature of the Argument it self affords, is, the natural Tendency of fanatick and enthusiastick Principles, to wild and seditious Practices; but when such right peaceable men as these are observed to come forth in its defence, that farther proves the Event, that was but probable in the Nature of things, to be really laid, and intended in the minds of men; and the Result of all is, that publick Broils and Tumults is not only the natural Effect, but the serious end of all their Pretences. And this I presume is competently material to the scope of the Discourse.

And as this way of Procedure could not have been justly charged with any Impertinence, so much less with any Disingenuity; for in sober sence, what milder Correction could

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could a Person so obnoxious deserve, or modestly expect, though it were only to take down his malepert Confidence and Presumption; but when, beside that, it was so direct a Consideration to the matter in Debate, no Laws of Ingenuity could oblige, no nor scarce excuse any man, that should baulk such weighty advantages to so honest a cause, only out of regard and tenderness to a malefactor's Reputation. Especially when he shall so often (as he has publickly done) proclaim open Desiance to all Accusations, boast of his own meekness and innocence, and with such an intolerable Confidence, pish at the vanity, and silliness of all such ungrounded reflections. What other course can be taken with such a boisterous Huff, than to dash back his bold Affronts and Challenges into his own Teeth, and beat down such a daring Impudence with the weight of its own Guilt. And thereby let the world see how little Conscience or Modesty is to be expected from these demure precious ones, that can bare up so bravely under such a sinking load of horror and villany. And though the Government has been pleased to forgive and forget all their Godly pranks, yet it is not to be endured, to see them look so big, and talk so loud upon Presumption of their own Innocence; and who could believe it, that People so guilty upon
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all accounts, both before God and Man, (and so they are and must be, till they have disowned their former Practices, and renounced their former Principles by some publick Protestations of Repentance) should be so irrecoverably faln from all shame and modesty, as to spit at the most modest suspicions of their Honesty, to stand on tip-toe upon their own Justification, and in stead of being brought to any Remorse or Contrition for all their horrid and publick Crimes, to cast off all Reflections upon their Guilt, with all the stateliness of Pride, and all the assurance of a good Conscience? And therefore until they have given us some more satisfactory Symptoms and Indications of their Repentance, they have nor can have no reason to complain of our want of Charity for supposing them constant to their good old Principles, and their good old Cause. If these Men complain of their hard usage, till they have given us some hopes of their Reformation, so may Wolves and Padders.

2. Supposing he had been bespattered with uncivil and unhandsom Reflections, yet certainly a Person of his abstracting and Metaphysical Head, is able to separate the Argument from the Abuse; and though possibly he could not wipe them off to the satisfaction of all Readers, yet he might fairly neglect them, as of no Concernment to the matter of his Enquiry.

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quity. And he is not so shamefaced as not to Huff and Out-swagger all Affronts. Nay, he has quitted himself like himself of them already; not only by holding forth that it is more Christian-like to forbear all such Provocations, because they tend to mutual Exasperations of Spirit, (for that signifies little more, than that he, Good Man! is very angry, and I think he has no very great reason to be very well pleased) but also by retorting them with all the Keenness of Revenge, whilst, poor Nothing! he protests his unfeigned Resolutions of Meekness and Forgiveness; as he has done a thousand times over in his late goodly Discourse of Evangelical Love and Unity, particularly pag. 8. he defies all the Revilings of his Adversaries, because they are such Persons that have no regard to Truth, or Modesty, or Sobriety towards God or Man, and shall be sure to be accounted with at the Day of Judgment, (to the great Relief of his tender Heart;) That are animated by their secular Interest or desire of Revenge; that are unacquainted with the Spirit of the Gospel, and the Christian Religion; that are incompassionate towards the Infirmities of others, whereof yet none in the World give greater Instances than themselves; that have no thoughts but of Rage and Destruction; and that, had they Power, would render all Christians like the Moabites, Ammonites,
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and Edomites, that is, are for nothing less than Massacres, and cutting of Throats, &c.

Sweet Sir! Enough, enough of these healing Words; we are vanquish'd for ever with these generous strains of Meekness and Civility: Did ever Man pass by such unparalleled Injuries and Provocations, with so much Gallantry and Greatness of Mind? What execrable Miscreants must they be, that could treat so brave an Adversary with Rudeness and Incivility, or assault such an Heroick Ingenuity with ignoble and unhandson Arts? He is too hard for us at all Weapons, there is no contending with a Person of such an Adamantine Honour; he rebukes us with his Endearments, and strikes us dead with his sweet and kissing Looks. We yield, we yield; we cannot resist all this kind and melting Goodness. He has requited our Malice with so fair and civil a Character, that it were a notorious Calumny to paint anything but the Devil himself in blacker Colours. And if but one half of this Enamouring Description that he has bestowed upon his Adversaries in the very Pangs of Love and Compassion, were true or credible, no Man that is yet unhang'd (unless he had been mark'd thrice at least with the Honourable Brand of Authority) would ever be so mad as to change condition with such cast and irreclaimable

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claimable Wretches. However, we accept his kind Offer, and his Good Meaning; and seeing he is willing to respite his Revenge to the Day of Judgment, (Ah, sweet Day! when these People of God shall once for all, to their unspeakable comfort and support, wreak their Eternal Revenge upon their reprobate Enemies) it is agreed upon: for we are not so fierce and fiery, but we can wait with as much patience as he for satisfaction. And therefore let us by mutual consent forbear all this unnecessary Courtship and Complement for the future, and fall on bluntly upon the Argument without bugging and kissing, before we draw Sword: It is a pretty point of Honour for young Gentlemen; but we that are a more sullen sort of Combatants, may without any great inconvenience spare the Ceremony. And now upon this Proposal, it will be found that these intemperate Reflections (as he calls them) are so far from making the Book unanswerable, that they are the only thing to which he has ventured to make any Reply: so that it is plain this is not the Reason, but purely the Pretence of his Reluctancy. For, alas! the Evidence of the Cause is so bright and convictive, as prevents all tolerable Mistakes or Exceptions; and as for his bold and bare-faced Falsifications, they are all spent in the former Engagement, and all his juggling shifts have been so sufficiently
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laid open to the World; that they can never do him or his Cause any service for the future. And setting these aside, the Argument of the Controversie is so plain and easie, that it is not capable of any farther Doubt or Disputation.

For all their Exceptions (especially as they concern the Church of England) relate either to the Power it self, or to the Matters of the Command: the first are directly level'd against the very Being of Authority; and Magistrates of what kind soever, according to their general Pretences, must not dare to put any Restraints upon their Subjects Consciences, lest they invade the Divine Prerogative; overthrow the Fundamental Liberties of Humane Nature, and undo honest Men only for their Loyalty to God and their Religion. Now if this Right be claimed without Restraint or Limitation, then the Consequence is unavoidable, That Subjects may, whenever they please, cross with the Authority of their Governours, upon any pretence that can wear the Name, or make a show of Religion. But this is so grossly absurd, that J. O. (nor any Man else in his Wits) never had the Courage to assert it. And then the Necessity of a Sovereign Power in Matters of Religion is granted, and all Arguments that prove it in general necessary to Peace and Government, are allowed, or at least
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not contradicted: for whoever admits an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, howsoever bounded and limited, admits it; and that is enough to the first Assertion of a Supreme Authority over the Conscience in Matters of Religion. But then (say they) there are some particular things exempted from all Humane Cognizance, which if the Civil Magistrate presume to impose upon the Consciences of his Subjects, as he ventures beyond the Warrant of his Commission, so he can tie no Obligation of Obedience upon them, seeing they can be under no Subjection in those things where they are under no Authority. Now this pretence resolves it self thus; that they do not quarrel his Majesties Ecclesiastical Supremacy, but they acknowledge it to be the undoubted Right of all Sovereign Princes, as long as its Exercise is kept within due bounds of Modesty and Moderation. Which being granted, all their general Exceptions against the Sufficiency of the Authority it self, are quitted, and they have now nothing to except against but the excess of its Jurisdiction. So that having gained this ground, the next thing to be assigned and determined, is the just and lawful bounds of this Power, and that has been already distinctly enough described as to all the most material Cases that can probably occur in Humane

Defence of Ecclesiast. Pol. from p. 131. to p. 164.

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Life; all which may be summ'd up in this one general Rule, viz. That Governours take care not to impose things apparently evil, and that Subjects be not allowed to plead Conscience in any other case; this is the safest and most easie Rule to secure the Quiet of all that are upright and peaceable; and all that refuse Subjection to such a gentle and moderate Government, make themselves incapable of all the Benefits of Society; in that if we stop not their Liberty of Remonstrating to the Commands of Authority at this Principle, we shall for ever be at an utter loss for making any certain Provisions for the Peace and Security of Commonwealths. So that if they will attempt any thing here to any purpose, they must again either cancel all Ecclesiastical Power, or confine it within narrower bounds of Jurisdiction, both which are equally absurd and dangerous; the former we have already cashiered as flat Anarchy; and the latter is no less, because there is no end of the Follies and Impositions, or at least the Pretences of Religion: so that if they may be suffered to over-rule the Power of Princes, then can Princes claim no Power over any that have no mind to obey them, i. e. they have none at all, because all that are or would be disobedient may plead dissatisfaction for their Priviledge, and that supersedes all the proceedings of Authority. And here too
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before they can do any good, they must justify the reasonableness of the Pretences of Scandal, or an unsatisfied Conscience in Opposition to the Publick Laws: i. e. they must prostitute all the Wisdom and Power of Government to the Humour and Ignorance of the common People, and that is plainly to destroy it: Nay, though we should grant them all this, and any thing else that they can with or without modesty demand; yet when all is done, the Puritan Controversie will prove the most desperate and indefensible Cause in the World. For that relates to the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of the Matters of the particular Laws and Constitutions themselves; and now when the Question is cast upon this Issue, attend Heavens and Stars! Here are Wonders and Mysteries to be discovered, that would make an Archangel stare! A flourishing Nation has been embroiled in a bloody War: A Vertuous a Prince as ever sat upon a Throne, has been Murdered and Martyred: An Establish'd Church has been Plundered and Dissolved, and Fellow-Subjects have been enraged against each other with implacable Zeal and Cruelty, and we are still shatter'd into numberless Schisms and Factions, and People are scared from returning to their Obedience upon peril of their Eternal Salvation, though for what reason all this is done, Elias must tell us when

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he comes, for as yet it is above the reach of our Inquisition, and the comprehension of our Understandings.

As for my own part, I have wasted not a little time (I fear more than I shall be able to give a good account of) to search and enquire what mighty Prize it is that they contend for in good earnest; and yet after all my pains, I must protest that I understand their meaning no more, than I do the Great Secret, or the Philosophers Stone. For the result of all their endless talk, is plainly reducible to these two Heads, Either what they plead in their own behalf, that they may have Liberty to Worship God according to that Rule that is instituted and prescribed to them in the Gospel: or what they object against us, which is in the last Issue of things nothing else than the horrible Unwarrantableness of Symbolical Ceremonies. As for the first, they still persist to urge it with their old Zeal, Clamour and Confidence, though it is apparently no more concern'd in the matter of our Controversie than the possibility of squaring the Circle. For when we descend to particulars, and proceed by Induction, there is not any thing by which they divide and distinguish themselves from the Church of England, that can so much as pretend to the least foot-steps in the Word of God. And though they have been so often challenged,
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upbraided and taunted, to shew one Divine or Apostolical Injunction that expressly requires their way of Worship, as far as it is opposed to our establishd Rites and Constitutions; yet you may sooner beat out their brains (if they have any) than make them so much as attend to your motion; or at least prevail with them to specify this general Rule in any one particular case. If they would but once undertake this, it would bring all our Differences to a very speedy and a very easie issue. For if the Scripture have determind any certain and standing Rules of outward Worship, what can be more reasonably demanded, or easily performed than to assign them? It is full as obvious as to find out the Rules of the Liturgy by the Rubricks and Canons of the Church: If it have not, what can be more disingenuous or seditious than for men to stand upon such conditions of their Obedience, as they know to be impossible? They have had time enough to search the Sacred Records for particular Forms and Rituals of outward Worship; and when with all their pains they have not been able to discover so much as one express Institution, is it not prodigious beyond all Precedent that they should persevere in their old Confidence, and that in defiance to their own knowledge and experience? And they may with all their searching as soon find out the Institution of

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all the *Laws and Ceremonies* of the *Order of the Garter* in holy *Writ*, as any one *Form of Worship* enjoined to all *Ages of the Church* under a perpetual and unalterable *Obligation*, beside barely the two *Sacraments*. What can be imagined more peevish or humourfom, than for Men under so much demureness and seeming Sanctity, to persist so seditiously in such a baffled and precarious pretence? It is rank and self-convicted waywardness.

But then, Secondly, When they come to object against us, the last result of all their outcry there, is, the sad unwarrantableness of Symbolical Ceremonies; though had they made it Syncategorematical Ceremonies, the Objection had been more terrible than it is by at least three or four Syllables. It is both an hard and a big word, and for any thing the People know, may signifie one of the bloodiest things in Popery. They will endure any Ceremonies, provided they be well purged of all their Symbolicalness; that is the very Essence of Paganism, Superstition and Idolatry. They will, and ought sooner to broil in Smithfield, than submit to such Abominations of the Strumpet and the Beast. It is less dangerous to Worship the Host, and more easie to believe Transubstantiation, than to defile our selves with this lewd and Antichristian Trangam. The Jesuites Powder was first extracted out

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of it, it is worse than Witchcraft and Sorcery, the least Infusion of it immediately transforms a Man into a Papist or a Jew, or any thing else as the Enchantment is laid. 'Tis the very Potion wherewith the Scarlet Whore made Drunk the Kings of the Earth. Heliogabalus and Bishop Bonner loved it like Clary and Eggs, and always made it their Mornings-Draught upon Burning Days; and it is not to be doubted but that the seven Vials of Wrath, that were to be poured upon the Nations of the Earth under the Reign of Antichrist, were filled with Symbolical Extracts and Spirits.

And were all this dismal Story a sad and serious Truth, Men could scarce be more affrighted than they are at two or three very innocent Ceremonies, only because they are called Symbolical: and yet after all this hideous noise and outcry, (1.) It is very unhappy that there are no Ceremonies to be found out in the World, but what are Symbolical, in that it is the very Nature, and the only warrantable Use of Ceremonies to be Symbolical. But, (2.) Suppose there were any that are pure and Unsymbolical, yet it will be a cruel task to find out any certain Prohibition, either in the Law of Nature, or the Word of God, against all those that are Symbolical; and if it cannot be done, they will not prove so deadly dan-

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gerous as hath been hitherto imagined. And,
(3.) It is still somewhat more difficult to find out the several sorts and species of Symbolical Ceremonies, and which are allowable and which not, by what marks we may know which are natural and which are only customary, which owe their beginning to Chance, and which to Institution; where the Scripture has allowed one to be used in the Worship of God, and where it has disavowed the other; and why the Sovereign Power may not bestow this Priviledge upon a Ceremony by vertue of its Prerogative, as well as Use and Custom; what greater Immorality there is in them when they are determined by the Command and Institution of the Prince, than when by the Consent and Institution of the People; with so many more curious and profound Enquiries, that they must spend whole Waggon-Loads of Metaphysicks, to prepare their way, and make their Approaches to the subtilty of the Argument. Are not these Men (think you) pretty well resolved upon it, to be for ever peevish and troublesome, that can raise so much dust and disorder out of such slender and beggerly Pretences? Pretences so apparently vain and frivolous, that their persisting in them so long and so stubbornly, can prove nothing but their being utterly forsaken either of all Modesty or Understanding. Had they any thing in the World
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material to object, they would never make so very much of such very Non-sense, that has nothing else to defend it even from the scorn of the common People, than that it is shelter'd under a word that they understand not. But (say some) if their scruples are so very Childish, why do not you that are, or pretend to be wiser, condescend a little to their folly, rather than give them opportunity of creating so much disturbance to so little purpose? In Answer to these Men, though there were no other Reason of our firm adherence to our old Constitutions, yet this is a very sufficient one, That we can never satisfy their Demands, nor remove their Grounds of dislike, by all the Alterations and Condescensions in the World. For let us order our external Worship with as much caution and simplicity as themselves pretend to, yet we can never prevent their Objection, unless we quite abolish it; and it dashes as much against their own way of Worship as against ours: for therein consists the very Use and Nature of all outward Worship, to express and represent the inward sense of our Minds by some outward Indication: so that if there be any outward Worship in the World, there is no avoiding it, but it must be significant and Symbolical.

And now, I hope, I may safely appeal to the Reader, to search the Records of all Ages
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and Nations in the World; and though he will meet with numberless Stories of strange and unaccountable Schisms, yet he will never find any People so ridiculously peevish, as to separate from the Church they lived under upon such woful Scruples and Exceptions as are pleaded and insisted upon by our present Dissenters. They are as new as they are impertinent, peculiar to themselves, unheard and unthought of to all the World beside.

3. But, Thirdly, What if his Adversary has not made any unkind Reflections upon his Person, nor taken any Advantages against himself or his Cause, from any of his former Exorbitances? I will assure thee (Reader) if he have, they are very slyly and hintingly couch'd: I have search'd for them with all possible diligence and attention; and after all my Industry, am not able to furnish my Common-Place-Book with any one of these Rhetorical Embellishments. I must confess I meet with some Passages produced against himself out of his own Writings; but then I must acknowledge too, (to do right to all Parties) that they are all such as were extorted by his own rash and hot headed Defiances, and such as his Adversary was forced to appeal to, (sorely against his own will) in defence of his own Honesty. And thus when J. O. so daringly boasts of his Constancy to his own Principles, and
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of his unalterable Zeal for Toleration under all Dispensations, and Providential Revolutions; and yet confesses at the very entrance of his Discourse, That in all Pleas for Liberty of Conscience, he and all others are forced to juggle and dissemble with the World, and to admit of such a Supposition as flatly contradicts their own first and Fundamental Principle, viz. That there is no Form of Worship Lawful and Allowable but what is prescribed in the Word of God; and that is their own: Now what could be more pertinent than to show how their Language alters, when they speak out their full meaning? and then they breathe nothing but Death and Destruction to all Dissenters; and this is largely enough evidenced out of the inspired Writings of J. O. who in all his Pamphlets and Preachments for Indulgence, is ever careful to except all Parties from the Benefit of that favour, but only the Army-Saints, that were necessary to support the Tyranny, and secure the Plunder of the Lords Anointed Ones. And this (I suppose) is farther evidenced past all contradiction, not only from numberless Passages of his own Books, but from the very Pretence upon which he founds all his Demands, in that the things they desire to be indulged in, are upon their own Supposition for ever incapable of any such Liberty, because

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cause (as they pretend) they are no less than Matters of indispensible Duty.

The second occasion that I observed of raking into his Scribbles, was this, That when his Adversary had charged the Nonconformists with the Modesty of appropriating to themselves the Titles and Characters of Godliness, yet this charitable Man cries, Tush, to the Calumny, and defies it in the name of all the Secret Ones; and especially as far as it concerns his own worthy individual Self: though as great and considerable a Man as he is, I have some reason to be confident he was never so much as intended or thought of in the Accusation: And therefore I appeal to all the World, whether any thing could be more pertinently Replied to rebuke the boldness of this Challenge, than by checking the career of his Confidence, even out of his own spiritual and self-abasing Writings? And if it could possibly be proved that never any Man was more malapert and forward to pass Reprobating Censures upon all Parties, than J. O. that alone might pass for a sufficient Correction of such rude and unadvised Challenges. Nay, had he been content barely to deny this rough Impeachment, and not upbraided his Adversary to Traverse it, as he would not forfeit his Ingenuity, he might (I verily believe) have escaped all that disgrace, that did and must unavoidably follow upon his Publick Trial.

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The third main occasion that necessitated his Adversary to make use of this Weapon; was this; That when he had only charged some Men (that yet were nameless) with owning this poor innocent Principle; that to pursue Success, though in Villany and Rebellion, is to follow Providence; this Man had the face and the folly too to defie it. for a monstrous Fiction, and a huge yelling Lye. Now it becomes not a Gentleman, and much less a Divine, to put up the Lye, especially when it is dash'd in his Teeth with all the Circumstances of Publick Scorn and Disdain; and therefore though probably he were provided of a thousand other Instances to justify the Truth of his Accusation against some other Men, yet it was most proper to vindicate his own Integrity, by laying the whole Load upon this Mans unparalleled and intolerable Confidence. And for this reason it is (I presume) that he has given such a right godly Account of Providence out of the Writings of J. O. as only defeats all the Obligations of Religion and common Honesty, and (if there be occasion for it) will at any time justify all the Wickedness in the World. When I first perused it, I must confess I cou'd not but tremble to see any man so desperately debauch'd as to disgorge such a Load of rank Blasphemy and Disloyalty, and that with the Warrant and Confidence of a Divine Authority.

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Authority. The Discourse is made up of such few and unaccountable Principles, that should all the Impostors in the World, nay all the Powers of Darkness club together to contrive a compleater Doctrine of Religious Falshood and Immorality, they could never out-do its Horrour and Wickedness. And now if such unavoidable Arguments as these may be called Personal Reflections, or if such Personal Reflections may be thought disingenuous, there is then no remedy but it must be granted that J. O. has had somewhat harder measure than was necessary: if not, I hope it is no Offence against the Rules of Candour or Good Manners for an Honest Man to impeach a Malefactor, especially when he is forced to it in defence of his own Honour and Reputation.

If there be any other sharp words in any other Paragraphs of his Adversaries Discourse, of which he complains under his old common place of Railing; to that I can say no more, than to inform them, that there is some little difference between Railing and just Reproofs, and to challenge them to specify one tart and severe Expression, that the Argument will not only bear, but require; otherwise I am apt to believe, by the example of all the most Classical of Ancient and Modern Professours of Controversie, it is no very foul play nor Language to discover palpable Forgeries, affected Mistakes,

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Mistakes, thick Contradictions, and shameless Impertinencies. If it is, then I must be so ingenuous as to confess, that his Adversary is one of the most unmerciful and uncleanly Writers that ever pretended to Good Nature or Good Manners. But when a bold Scribler shall dare to impose upon the World with the most enormous and ungrounded Falsifications, I think it is altogether as eloquent, and as civil too, plainly to tell him, (as that Author has done) in blunt and downright English, that they are impudent and inexcusable Falshoods, as tamely to say, Verily, verily, forsooth you not say Troth. And there lies the vehemence and cruelty of his Stile, in insulting over such notorious and unpalliable Tricks of Dishonesty. No Invectives can be sharp enough to reprove meer and affected Calumny; and had he had any appearance of pretence either to excuse or to alleviate his Mistakes, he might have called for Quarter, and challenged some Mercy: but when he shall load an Honest Man that never provoked, no, nor rival'd him, with such black and horrid Slanders, he Out-laws himself to all the Claims and Priviledges of Civility. A wilful and convicted Forger, is every where lookt upon as an open and declared Enemy to the common Rights of Humanity. And yet this Mans Malice is sadly aggravated by his Boldness: for had he accused his Adversary

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sary of treasonable Words, or suborned a Professor of Villany, to impeach him of Popish Plots against the State, (provided he were not so unhappy as to swear he saw him take the Sacrament upon it in the Conclave at Rome; at the very same instant of time, when five hundred Persons of an unblemisht and unsuspected Reputation are able and ready to depose that he was engaged in publick Employment at London:) I say, had he revenged himself of his Adversary thus, it would have abated of the Impudence, though not of the Malice of his Forgery. For Words once spoken, vanish into the empty Air, and are never after to be produced in Court to clear a Mans Reputation: but when he shall charge him (as he has often done) with nothing less or more than only Blasphemy, and then think to make good his Charge by forging Words that may be so easily confuted by legible Black and White; that, I say again, is Confidence beyond all Example, and above all Imitation.

And then as for any other Passages that they complain of under the Title of Arrogance and Contempt; I can and will say no more to them, than that it is a sad Unhappiness to have to do with such an unreasonable sort of People, when it is impossible to make a just Representation of the folly of their Pretences, without upbraiding it: No Argument in so palpable a Cause

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Cause can be duly urged to its proper Head, without some Satyr and Invektive; so far is it from being any excess of temper, that 'tis downright Dulness and want of Wit, not to expose their Persons whilst we confute their Principles: for how is it to be avoided, but that such Men must appear contemptible to all Mankind, that have so little Wit to believe, or so much Confidence to maintain such monstrous and thick Absurdities? So that they plainly owe all the Disdain they complain of, to themselves, and the Nature of their Cause; and if their Talkings be so wretchedly trifling as they are proved to be, they can never be scorned too much for disturbing a settled Church to so little, so no purpose. So that all the severity of that Discourse, how stern soever it may appear, results purely from the Nature of the Argument, and not from any peculiar fierceness of Expression: And if that Authors Stile may to any seem more unmerciful than that of some of his Neighbours, I think he need only desire those Persons to consider, whether they can find any other Ground for their so thinking, than that he may possibly have pursued their Pretences a little more closely and severely to the last and most lamentable Issue of their Folly.

And yet after all this needless Apology, beside what that Author himself has made in

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his own behalf, more than became him; had J. O. been treated as rudely and unmercifully as 'tis pretended, yet it can never be pretended that he was treated any worse than he deserved: for he is a Person of such a pernicious Temper, of such a swollen Insolence, of such a restless and implacable Spirit, of such a sworn and inveterate Hatred to the present Government of Church and State, that he ought, without Ceremony or fear of Incivility, to be pursued as the greatest Pest and most dangerous Enemy of the Commonwealth; and whoever wishes well to his Country, can never do it greater service, than by beating down the Interest and Reputation of such Sons of Belial. Had he ever given us any Symptoms of Modesty or Remorse for his old Impostures; would he have been true to his own Doctrine of wheeling about with Providence; would he but deign to give any Engagements of Loyalty and Allegiance, only whilst it is in fashion and reputation, and acknowledge his good old Principles to have become wicked and abominable, because they are now, and so long have been disowned by Providential Revolutions: Nay, did he not give us manifest Tokens of Rage and Indignation at the disappointment of his former Designs; did he not employ all his Industry to discompose our present Settlement; did he not
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make it his business in private and (as far as he dares) in publick to keep up the old Schism, and to keep back the People from returning to Peace and Sobriety; did he not train up Nurslings of the Cause in Principles of Enthusiasm and Sedition; did he not always thrust forward to appear in the Head of the Mutiny; did he not set up his Flag of Defiance against the Church of England, and bestir himself with all his Zeal and Power against all Endeavours of Peace and Reconciliation; did he not enflame and exasperate the Minds of his Disciples, against the Establish'd way of Worship and Discipline, and chuse rather than see it perfectly settled, to let loose Antichrist, and call in the Turk: in a word, did he not shew himself past all hopes of Reformation, by his incorrigible Boldness and Confidence, he might be allowed some Grains of Mercy and Tenderneſs. But if he be a Person of such a gangren'd Temper and malignant Spirit, no body that is not concerned and involved in the same guilt himself, can ever be concerned to have such a Caitiff spared. Especially when by his Zeal and Pragmaticalness he has advanced himself to some considerable Power and Reputation with his Party; in so much that great Numbers of silly People run greedily into Schismatical courses for no other reason than because J. O. steers and

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drives them. He is (to his great content) become the Head of the Faction, and the Oracle of the separate Churches; and is consulted in all Cases of Conscience, and in all Projects of Anarchy; and his bare Authority and Nod, is to the Disciples a satisfactory Determination of all Enquiries. And if it be so, it is not only fit, but necessary to take down such an aspiring Mind from its height and loftiness, to take off all his demure and hypocritical Disguises, and to shew him to the deluded People in his own Colours; and if it be possible to disabuse them, by letting them see that the only thing that lies at the bottom of all his Tumultuatingness of Spirit, is Pride and Ambition. I ever had so good an Opinion of the well-meaning of the Vulgar sort, that I am confident great Multitudes would quickly return to themselves and to their Duty, did they but see into the Dishonesty of their Leaders, and into the Designs of their Practices: and I can scarce judge so severely of any Member of his own Rendezvous, as to believe he would ever have entrusted his Soul and its Eternal Interest to his Conduct, had he but understood the Rankness of his Blasphemies against the Divine Providence. And that is one of the chiefest Arts they make use of to keep their People fast to their Communion, viz. To bar up their Minds against all ways
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of being undeceived; if they do but light upon a Book that reflects upon their Reputation, it is immediately wrested out of their hands; and they are frightened from perusing it, because (as they inform them) it is stuff'd with nothing but Railing, and Wicked, and Ungodly Opinions. But were they so hardy as, notwithstanding their frightful Tales, to examine and judge impartially, it is not to be doubted but that their Conventicles would quickly moulder away, if they did not suddenly vanish and disappear: so that at last nothing will be found more serviceable towards the cure of our Schisms and Divisions, than to deal plainly and sincerely with the People, in acquainting them with the Blasphemous Doctrines and Seditious Practices of these Achitophels.

And therefore I would advise J. O. for the future, to forbear all Publick Attempts against the Church; and if he will not, he will find all the Rebuke he has hitherto suffered, to be but the beginnings of his sorrows, and will be brought to the Sledge oftner than he is aware of: for if he be not taken down with open and continual Disgraces, his Pride will quickly grow raging and insupportable. I know he will complain of this as the most intemperate Language that was ever poured upon him by any Adversary; but 'tis no matter for that,

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as long as I know them, and have proved them to be Words of Truth and Sobriety: they proceed not from Passion or Revenge, but from an upright and composed Mind, that upon mature Judgment chuses this way of procedure as most proper and rational against such an enormous and irreclaimable Offendor. I have not skill enough in the Tricks of Hypocriticism, to protest my Friendship and Charity to my Enemies in the coarsest Expressions of Rancour and Bitterness; as this meek-spirited Man always does, with heaping up all the Recriminations that (he tells us) he might, but will not retort; and so in one breath vents his Malice, and boasts his Charity: and were it not for this demure way of darting his Revenge, it is manifest from the Genius of his Mind and Writings, that Death it self would scarce be more disgustful, than an hearty forgiveness; otherwise he would not always issue out his Pardons with such spiteful and stabbing Intimations. But for my own part, I love nothing more than a frank and an open Integrity, and endeavour nothing more than to deal clearly and undisguisedly with all Men; and therefore having plainly enough told him his own, and nothing but his own as to his Principles, I need not to protest my unfeigned Love and Charity towards his Person; I am too well assured of the Uprightness of my

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Purposes, to condescend to such faint and mis-giving Expressions; for it is nothing else but a diffidence of their own Sincerity, that puts Men upon such needless Appeals and Protestations. And therefore in stead of that, I shall only add, That I do not in the least tax his private Conversation; and (for any thing I ever will know, for I scorn ever to enquire) he may live as becomes a good and an honest Man among his Neighbours and Acquaintance: the only thing I lay to his Charge, is his insolent and unpardonable Behaviour towards the Publick; and 'tis purely for the sake, and in the behalf of that, that I account with him so severely for his old Ar-rears. Which yet I should willingly have spared, (so tender am I of the Laws of Good Nature and Civility, even towards all that have forfeited their Right in them) could I ever have discovered the least appearance of Integrity either in his Writings or Actions, or the least tokens of Repentance for his former Crimes, or the least ground of hope for his future Reformation: but when nothing appears but reprobate Hardness and Impenitence, and an obstinate persisting in his old Rancour, his case is desperate; and when Men are past Grace, they are past Mercy too.

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And thus having done him Right, and his Pamphlet Reason, and prevented the Design of escaping the Disgrace of his Overthrow, by sending abroad new Challenges before he had discharged himself of his old Engagements; it is high time to return to the Argument, upon which I was entering, when he came in my way to divert me, viz.

To consider what likelihood, or how much Danger there is of the Return of Popery into this Nation.

For my own part, I know none, but the Nonconformists boisterous and unreasonable Opposition to the Church of England; for if ever that be Re-erected, it must be upon the Ruines of this; as long as this stands in Power and Reputation, it will easily beat back and baffle all the Attempts of Rome, and all its Adherents. Our Reformation is Established upon such unblameable Grounds and Principles, that all the Learning and Wit of our Adversaries was never able to fasten any Reproach or Dishonour upon the Constitution itself; and next to the Puritan Cause, there was never any so unequally managed as the Controversie between us and the Romanists; their most plausible Reasonings are evidently

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no better than little Tricks and Sophisms, and seem intended by themselves rather to abuse the Simple, than to satisfy the Wise: in so much that it is very hardly credible that those Persons who have lately appeared in the Cause, can notwithstanding all their seeming Zeal and Earnestness, be really in good earnest in their Pretences; but 'tis somewhat more wonderful, that they should have the Confidence to suppose the World should be so simple as to think them so, when they can boast such idle talk for Demonstration, as themselves (unless their Skulls are stufft with Mud and Saw-Dust) cannot but know to be meer Trifling, and arrant Sophistry. And no wonder, for every Cause must be defended as it can; their Innovations are so undeniable, and the Design of our Reformation so apparently Apostolical, that those People must needs argue at a strangely wild rate, that will be Demonstrating against Experience and Ocular Inspection; and nothing could preserve them from being hiss'd out of the Pit, but that they are extremely confident, and most Readers sufficiently ignorant: so that the Church of England may safely defie all their Opposition, she does not stand upon such trembling Foundations as to be thrust down with Bullrush-spears, with sure Footings, and Oral Traditions, with Labyrinths and Castles in the Air. If there
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be any danger from them, it lies more remote and out of view; and if ever they get any Ground or Advantage of us, they will be bound to make their Acknowledgments to the Puritans and the strength of their Assistance. Not that these are a whit more considerable and dead-doing Enemy than the other; they are Triflers beyond contempt; and when they have in their mighty Zeal done their poor utmost, and spent all their Ammunition, a Man must be very splenetick that can refrain from laughing at the folly and the childishness of their Attempts. No, their strength lies in other Weapons, and their danger arises from other Interests; their Faction may be made use of as Instruments to dissolve and unravel the establish'd frame of things, but they can never be able to set up any of their own Models, and crazy Fancies in lieu of it; they are too humorous and extravagant, ever to be reduced to practice; a little Experience quickly brought them all into the scorn and contempt of the common People; and it would be a pleasant Spectacle to see either the Classical or the Congregational Discipline Establish'd by Authority. But, alas! they are only excellent at their old Destruction-Work; and beside that, their Conceits are too freakish to be ever settled upon any lasting bottom; they will always be supplanting each other by their mutual Squabbles

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bles and Animosities; so that though they can never compass their own giddy Designs, yet by their perpetual and restless Opposition to the Church, they may possibly be the occasion of its utter Ruine and Dissolution; and by that Change may probably make way for the Introduction of Popery: And this is most likely to be effected by these Means, and upon these Accounts.

I. By creating Disorders and Disturbances in the State: For the present Fanaticks are so little Friends to the present Government, that their Enmity to that is one of the main Grounds of their Quarrel to the Church. They are generally fermented with a Republican Leven, and are sown out with Monarchy itself, as one of the greatest Instruments and Supports of Antichrist; and no Liberty with them either of the Subject or of Conscience, but in a Commonwealth; and that is a mighty piece of their Zeal and their Project to reform the Government of Church and State to the Platform of the Low-Countries. 'Tis the Good Old Cause that is the strongest Band and Endearment of the present Schism; and the greatest Agents in and for Conventicles, are Officers and Chaplains of the old Army. And the warmest and most zealous of them, such as have given the World no great
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ground to suspect, either from their profess'd Principles or open Practices, that they have the least Concern or Tenderness for Religion. But this is the only plausible Device that is left them, to rally and rendezvous the People of God into a Body by themselves, and distinct from the rest of the Nation; and so keep up a Party always ready and prepared for their Purposes; that if ever they may gain any hopes or advantages of recovering the Kings Power, or the Bishops Lands, (for confident Men despair of nothing) they may play the holy Brotherhood upon Demands and Attempts either of the old or some other new thorough-godly Reformation, and enrage their Fiery Spirits against the Abominations and Idolatries of the Whore and Antichrist. Though the danger here is not very formidable, because Fanaticism it self is so much worn into Contempt, (unless among the meer Rabble) that 'tis never likely to gather strength enough to grapple with the Royal Power; but yet whatsoever Power it has, (if it have any) lies in the Old Army and the Old Cause. And if we observe the true Patriots of the Godly Party in every County, we shall find them generally such Persons as were never much concerned to give his Majesty any great assurance of their Loyalty and Allegiance; and there are very few (if any) of any considerable Interest or Estate among them,

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them, that was not raised by Plunder and Sequestration : so that the Chiefs of the Party are only the Remainders of the old Rebellion, and the Republican Faction, and such as profess no great kindness to Monarchy or Sovereign Princes. These that are so stein'd with Guilt and Disloyalty, are they that are every where so zealous to make their Cabals of Zeal, and their Musters of Reformation, or at least to keep up the Cause and themselves above despair, by keeping up a factious and discontented Party, that, if ever opportunity should favour them, may have Strength and Interest enough to act over their old Designs of Zeal and Reformation. Now at present it is the Way and the Wisdom of these Men to bend all their Forces against the Ecclesiastick State, not only to disguise their Intentions, but to remove the main hindrance of their Designs.

For 'tis the Church that is the best part of every Commonwealth; and when all Projects are tried, Religion is the best Security of Peace and Obedience : The Power of Princes would be but a very precarious thing, without the Assistance of Ecclesiasticks, and all Government does and must owe its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage; 'tis the Authority that has over the Consciences of Subjects, that chiefly keeps the Crown upon
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the Princes Head, and were it not for the Restraints of Conscience, that are tied on by the Hands of the Priest, and the Laws of Religion, Man would be a monstrously wild and ungovernable Creature. For though the World be kept in some tolerable Order, notwithstanding there are too many Persons in it of Atheistical and Irreligious Principles, yet of all Subjects these are the most dangerous and disloyal, because 'tis impossible to bring them under any effectual Engagements of Duty and Allegiance; and hence it is that all Seditions and Treasons are headed and managed by such Leaders: At least, though they are not able to do so very much mischief, because their Party is not very considerable; yet were all Mankind of their Humour and Perswasion, nothing could be more insecure and destitute of help than the Condition of Princes, because no Man according to their Principles could be so foolish as to think himself any way obliged to venture Life and Fortune for the sake of their Interest; and whenever they are attempted, Subjects would be determined as to their Loyalty by the chance of Success, and not by any antecedent Obligations; and whenever the Princes Affairs were brought into any straight or danger, they must leave him to shift for himself, and revolt to an Usurper for their own Safety
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and Interest. But those only are Loyal Subjects, and true Friends and Servants to the Establish'd Government, that think it their Duty to adhere to their Prince in all Fortunes, and to assist and serve him against all Enemies; and 'tis their Numbers every where that keep the World in that little order and security that it enjoys: for beside the useful and advantageous Offices that they do to the Crown by their own immediate Service, 'tis their known and sworn Fidelity that in a great measure keeps back wicked and seditious Men from attempting it too lightly. Every aspiring Mind, or neglected Grandee, would be presently venturing at the Throne, if it stood naked and unguarded of the Assistances of Loyalty: but when they are assured, that howsoever their Designs may succeed, that there is so strong a Party unalterably resolved to make Head against them and all their Attempts, 'tis that that chiefly makes such Projects and Practices not so very frequent or easie. Now 'tis nothing but Conscience and Religion that can awe the Minds of Men to any sense of this Duty; and they ever are, and ever must be Govern'd by Ecclesiasticks; other Persons may tamper with them, and inveigle some straggling People, but still the main Body of a Nation, and especially the sober part of it, will chuse to submit themselves to their Conduct, whose

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whose Publick Profession it is to guide Souls, and instruct Consciences: so that to them, and the discharge of their Duty, do all Princes plainly owe the main Strength and Security of their Government. This Obligation of kindnes to the Ecclesiastical State, is common to all Civil States; and so much as they discountenance the Power and Reputation of the Church, so much do they disadvantage the Interest of their own Authority. But this reason of State is of greater force and more peculiar usefulness in reference to the present Constitution of the Kingdom of England.

The Nation is manifestly divided into two opposite Parties, the Church of England, and the Body of the Nonconformists: The former whereof is the greatest Example of Loyalty, that perhaps ever appeared in the Christian World. Its Clergy are the most Zealous Assertours of the Rights of Princes; they have all along undauntedly maintain'd their Supremacy against all Assaults and Invasions; they have possess'd the Peoples Consciences with a religious Awe and Reverence of Government; they have restrained them from all Attempts of Rebellion, or of taking up Arms upon any Pretence whatsoever, under the greatest and most dreadful Penalties; they have secured them from being abused with the Impostures of Zeal and Superstition, and have carefully pre-

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prevented all the Shifts and Excuses of Disobedience; and after they have made Subjection a prime and indispensable Duty, they do not evacuate the Efficacy of their Doctrine by juggling Reserves and Limitations. And thus are the People train'd up in a Conscience of their Loyalty, and take it in together with their Religion; and are as strongly principled against the hateful sin of Rebellion, as against Witchcraft or Idolatry. And of this our Princes have had sufficient proof and experience ever since the Reformation. They have ever found all their Subjects of the Communion of the Church of England modest and peaceable, and were never troubled with Disputes and Remonstrances, Plots and Disturbances from any of her Friends. And when Rebellion broke forth, and the Royal Power was invaded and oppressed, with what Zeal and Devotion did they appear in its Defence, and for its Recovery? and what Numbers sacrificed Lives and Fortunes out of meer sense of Duty and Allegiance? For though it is not to be doubted, but that some might engage themselves in the Royal Cause for other ends, yet 'tis manifest from too many sad Circumstances, that the true and hearty Sons of the Church were acted by Principles of Conscience and Religion; and whilst others might be bought over by the Rebels and Usurpers, no Temptation could prevail

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vail upon their Minds: but they were constant and impregnable in all Conditions. They forsake their Prince! You must first force them to renounce their Faith; their Loyalty stands upon their Religion, and they were Martyrs as well as Souldiers for his Cause, and in his Service. This is the peculiar Genius, and these the distinguishing Principles of the Church of England; and as far as they are admitted into the Minds of Men, so far do they work in them this religious and awful Regard toward Sovereign Princes. And though sometimes it may so fall out, that they may have other Reasons and Motives to determine them to their Loyalty, yet there are no Enforcements so powerful and irresistible as Convictions of Conscience: All others may and often do fail, but this never can.

But now as for the dissenting Party, their Religion spends it self another way; their Preachers fill the Peoples Heads with Wind and Phrases, possess their Fancies with Dreams and Visions, and spend most of their Pulpit-sweat in making a noise about Faith, Communion with God, Attendance upon Ordinances, that (as they manage them) with some other flattering and Romantick Stories, serve only to appease their natural sense of Religion, and to stroak them into a very civil and kind Opinion of themselves. But as for the Duty
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of Respect and Obedience to Superiours, (being a Paultry Moral Vertue) it is a Topick that has very little or no place among their Cases of Conscience; and though the Scripture be so very plain and pregnant in this Article, and abounds with so many clear and express Determinations of the indispensableness of the Duty, yet they can rarely find either a Text or an Occasion (as many as there are of both) to discourse it in their Pulpits, and recommend it to their People: And if at any time it so falls out that they cannot avoid it, they will make hard swift but before they have done they will be too cunning for their Text; for be that never so plain and positive, they will so over-reach and draw it in with Tricks and Distinctions, that before they part, it shall be perfectly wheel'd about to the Long Parliament side. They still Preach Obedience with so much Caution, and under so many Reserves, as utterly abates its Obligation; for they make the People so tender and timorous of their own Compliance, and so jealous of the Commands of their Superiours, that they are scarce more afraid of doing what God has expressly forbidden, than they are of what the Magistrate expressly requires; and they are taught to dispense with their Duty and Obedience towards their Governours, upon no greater or wiser Pretence, than that they only fear and suspect

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lest possibly their Commands should cross with the Divine Laws : And they are exhorted above all things to keep their Consciences (i. e. themselves) free from the Usurpation of all Humane Powers ; that is in effect, they are forbidden to make any Conscience of Subjection to Princes ; for 'tis only Conscience that is capable of the Obligation of Laws , so that if that be exempt, the whole Man is at Liberty. And how little sense they have of this Duty, or concern to discharge it, is very observable from their own most publick & solemn Devotions, where though they strain and wink hard for the largest and foulest Confessions of sins, and arraign themselves of all the Crimes they can think of, and rake together, whether they ever did or did not commit them : And withal, though most of them be pretty well concerned in the Guilt of this Wickedness, (if a Wickedness at all) yet it has no place in their Catalogues of Vice, and they never deign so much as to take notice of it to Almighty God, or to beg his pardon for it, and could never yet be prevailed upon so much as to acknowledge it, but among the Infirmities of his People ; and that is a shrewd ground of suspicion, when People that are, or would seem to be, so tender in all other Cases, are so sullen and insensible in this. Nay, (what is worse than all this) they instruct the People in all the Doctrines and Pretences of
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Disloyalty; for Rebellion never appears bare-faced, but always comes forth mask'd with popular and plausible Demands; now they furnish them with such Principles and Maxims, as will easily excuse all Disorders and Disobedience, such as the Preservation of the true Religion, and the Maintenance of their Fundamental Laws and Liberties, not against the Prince (by no means!) but against his evil Council. And whenever they have a Mind to make Trial of their Princes Patience or Courage, they are provided with Aphorisms of all sorts to warrant all the Pranks and Frolicks of the Experiment. This has been often enough, and from time to time represented to the Publick: but if we will not attend to other Mens Information, yet it is mad and wilful sottishness, if we will wink against our own smarting and dear-bought Experience; and yet that we must shamefully do, if we can put any Confidence in the Loyalty of these holy Men. For their Practices have never shamed their Principles; and though some of them are so modest as to excuse and deny their own Vertues, yet it must be confest that they have never failed to behave themselves as becomes the holy Brotherhood. They have (like the great Hercules) from their very Cradle laid hold upon all occasions to affront and grapple with the Royal Authority, they have always been for-

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ward to dispute and to abate the Sovereign Prerogative, and industrious to raise Jealousies against the Government and the Integrity of their Prince. And our Princes have all along complained of those Disrespects and Abuses that have been put upon them by the Puritan Party and its Abettors, and have at length to some purpose felt the Kindness and Civility of these Right-godly and Religious Rebels.

This is the true and undeniable Character of the Leading Faction; and as for all the other Clans and Sub-divisions, they were merely spawn'd out of the Presbyterian Disorders, and bred out of the very Dregs of their Rebellion, and were never distinguished from any other Parties of Men, but by their Confederated Zeal and Fierceness for the Republican Usurpation against Monarchy and C. S. and yet since his Majesty's Restoration would never be provoked to make the least Acknowledgments of their former Disloyalty, or to offer any Engagements of their future Allegiance. Now let us lay all this together, (and ten times as much more that I am forced to omit in haste) and then consider how peaceable such People are likely to prove that are first poisoned with such Principles of Anarchy and Sedition, and then managed by Leaders of such bloody and ambitious Designs. The People themselves are of such a peevish and envious Humour, both from their Temper
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and their Principles, that no Government can ever please or oblige them; they are a sort of Creatures that love to lie at catch for Opportunities of discontent, and it is a satisfaction to their proud and peevish Minds if they can but affront their Superiours. This is the natural Genius of the Party, and the several Brotherhoods are made up of People of this Complexion, and Men List themselves into the separated and discontented Churches only to gratifie this snarling and waspish Humour.

Pride and Ill-nature are the Fundamental Principles of all their Zeal; and they are rude and restive to Authority, not always out of disaffection, but out of a wanton and sullen Humour. 'Tis a mighty Ease to their Spleens to vent their Censures and Contempts upon their Superiours; nothing so much inclines them to Good-fellowship as bad News, it makes them gay and frolick, and is the only season of their Mirth and Jollity; and if it chance to prove a Story, they grow moody again, and return to their old precise and surly Humour. It is the Master-piece of their Wit to make Satyrical Remarks upon the Gazets and publick Narratives; and it is the greatest concern of their Zeal and Passion, to confute and discredit all Reports allowed of by Authority. This is so notorious in common Conversation, that his Majesty has been forced to check this saucy

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and undutiful Demeanour by his Royal Proclamation, though they have been so long accustomed to it, that it is to be feared they are grown too headstrong and incorrigible to be awed into a more modest behaviour by threatenings of severity; and it will at last be found necessary to bridle their ungovern'd Tongues and Spirits with Pillories and Whipping-posts. For what can be more ick som and insufferable than to bear the Wisdom and Discretion of the State so lavishly and familiarly censured by every pert and conceited Mechanick? and yet that is their daily and perpetual Employment, to be holding or hinting their Jealousies and irreverent Reflections upon the King and his Council, and their management of Affairs, in all Places and in all Companies. And I appeal to every Mans Experience, whether he ever heard one kind word from the mouth of one zealous Brother, except in one case since his Majesties Return; and am sure that the Observation of all sober Men will agree with my own, that nothing comes from them with so costly a difficulty as a poor seeming approbation of any publick Proceedings. And they are now almost as free to bestow their good Words upon the Pope or the Prelates as upon the Civil Government. To this peevishness of their Humours, I might add the restlessness of their Minds, that is always displeased with

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with the settled frame of things, and that no Alterations can satisfie. If you condescend to their first Demands, you only encourage them to be making new Remonstrances; appease all their old Complaints, and they are immediately picking new Faults to be redressed. Their Reformation knows no limits, but their Projects grow and improve with their Success. They that at first only request Indulgence, will, when strong enough, demand it; and if they succeed, they will then dispute Equality with the present frame of Government, and then in a while Superiority, and then at last they will refuse to grant the same Indulgence that themselves at first requested. Thus to mention no body else, KNOX and his Confederates first Petition'd the Queen of Scots, then Threatened Her, then Affronted Her, then Rebelled against Her, and then formally Deposed Her. And as Reformation always begins at the Bishops and Clergy, so it rarely ends but with the Civil Magistrate. Innovation never stops at its first Proposals, but new Thoughts, and Projects, and Interests, perpetually arise out of new Events and Occurrences of Affairs; and as the work succeeds, it naturally improves into new Parties and Principles, till at length it out-grows it self. And it was scarce ever known, that Fanatick Zeal began to alter the present Settlement of the Church, that it ever
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ceased till it had involved State and all in Ruine and Confusion.

And now 'tis easie to imagine into what Freaks and Disorders People of such a factious and bot-headed temper may be transported by the crafty Insinuations of proud or factious Male-contents: it is but whispering some confident Jealousie against the Government, and then upon any unlucky Conjunction of Affairs they naturally break out into Tumult and Rebellion; their Minds are always prepared for Disturbance, and easily take Fire upon every Opportunity, and every Invitation. So that now the state of the Question is altered; the Controversie between us is not about Ecclesiastical Laws and Forms of Discipline, (they have the least share in our Differences, and are rather meer Pretences than any serious Causes of Discontent;) but the Contest now, as it relates to the real Concernments of the Nation, is, Which shall prevail, Loyalty or Faction? Whether it be the Interest of the Prince that Subjects should be Educated in a religious sense of their Duty to all Superiours, or whether in a dislike and disaffection to all Royal Dignity? or, Lastly, Whether such Preachers should be permitted the Liberty of making Proselytes, when all that are seduced into their Communion, are at the same time alienated from the Government, and Listed into a Combination against it?

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And yet these Men are so very foolish and presumptuous, as to flatter themselves and their Followers with hopes of his Majesties Conversion to their Party; and to suggest in their common and Coffee-House Discourses, his secret Contempt of Loyalty and the Church of England; as if he laughed at the Folly and Pedantry of all those that ventured Lives and Fortunes in his Service and for their Allegiance, and look'd upon them as shallow and empty People that understand neither themselves nor their Interest; but that those are the only shrewd and notable Men, and fit for the management of his Affairs, that had so much Wisdom and Dexterity, or (as it is in another Reading) so much Knavery and Hypocrisie as by right or wrong to work their own Advantage out of all Changes, to secure their Preferments in spite of all contradictory Oaths, and always to light so luckily as to improve their fortunes by all turns, and grow great either by Rebellion or by Loyalty, (it is all one to them) as either of them lack'd to prosper, and scrupled not to flatter an impudent Usurper, nor to betray or murder their Lawful Sovereign, as Times, and Junctures of Affairs advis'd them. Bold Men! that can so cheaply and so daringly undervalue their Princes Honour and Ingenuity, and think him so void not only of all Principles of Vertue, but of common Sense, as to despise

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despise his best (his only) Friends for being honest Men and good Subjects. But this it is to shew the least Mercy or Tenderneſs to such proud and incorrigible Offenders, when they have ſo much Vanity and Self-conceit to over-pretend all things to their own favour. Let the Government but think it ſeaſonable at any time to Reprieve them from the Severity of the Laws, and they immediately ſtart up into that Confidence, as to imagine themſelves the only Darlings and Favourites of the State: Let but the Publick Rods be a little removed from their Backs, and they are preſently full of Expectations to have them put into their hands: If they are not always ſcourged and chaſtiſed, they will grow ſawcy, and muſt by all means become Cronies to Kings and Princes. And yet this I muſt ſay in their behalf, they ſerve his Maſteſty no worſe than they ſerved God Almighty; for neither could he a little ſuſpend the Execution of his Juſtice upon them, (though they were ſuch ſcandalous and refractory Delinquents againſt his Laws) but that muſt, paſt all doubt and controverſie, declare him of their Side, and for their Cauſe, and the Lord muſt needs walk ſweetly with his own People in ways of Plunder and Sequeſtration. But if that were enough to make them preſume his Favour and Approbation, he has (we may preſume too) done enough ſince to clear his own Provi-

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Providence, and dash their Confidence; and they may assure themselves that his Majesty understands both himself and them too well to be over-fond of their Friendship, or trust too confidently to their Good-will. But if they will be making such ill use of his Mercy as to insult over, or to disrespect his Loyal Subjects, they will find to their own cost and shame, that he too can call them to their Songs upon Sigio-noth, as well as Divine Providence: so that (unless we will be guilty of a Jealousie as un-grounded and as unmannerly as their Pre-sumption) we may rest satisfied in the present Security of the Church of England, under the Protection of a Wise and a Gracious Prince; especially when beside the impregnable Con-fidence that we have from his own Inclina-tions, it is so manifest that he can never for-sake it either in Honour or Interest. But should it ever so happen hereafter that any King of England should be prevailed with to deliver up the Church, he had at the same time as good resign up his Crown; and the reason is already very plain, because there are none heartily Loyal to this; but those that are so to that; when 'tis so notorious from Experience, that the Crown of England never had any Cordial Friends but the Lovers of, and Ad-herents to the Church-Interest; and so evident from Mens Principles, that it never shall have.

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And then what must become of that unhappy Prince, that should deliver it up to the Rage and Rapine of its and his implacable Enemies? He is in the very same forlorn condition, as if he were forced to flee from all his Friends to a Kirk-Army for Sanctuary and Protection: i. e. he is certainly Sold and Sacrificed.

II. The second way whereby the Fanatick Party may at last work the Ruine of the Church, is by the Assistance of Atheism and Irreligion: Profbaness is in our days become as zealous and implacable a thing as Enthusiasm, and Men are not content barely to neglect all acknowledgment of Duty to their Creator, unless they may have the Liberty to affront and despise him too: They scorn to be abused themselves with the Tales and Legends of Knaveish Priests, nor will they (great Heroes!) suffer the World to be imposed upon by their bold and insolent Impostures. It is not by any means to be endured to see such despicable Fellows insult over the free-born Minds and well-bred Understandings of Gentlemen, away with all their Superstitious Cheats and Fopperies: they will undertake to instruct Mankind in wiser and more Gentleman-like Principles. And thus are these Caitiffs become as fierce and malicious Enemies to all Settlement of the Church, as the most distempered and fiery sort
of

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of Fanaticks; and they will piece Interest with any Party to pluck down any Church-faction that is uppermost; and are as brisk and forward at hammering Reformation-work, as the giddy & rascal Multitude; and rather than the Cause should miscarry for want of Zeal, they themselves will not stick to turn Preachers of Sedition, nor (when the People are enraged) to lead them on to act it. The Atheists of former times, because they expected nothing in the Life to come, resolved without any farther trouble to enjoy all the Comforts of this; and therefore they never thrust themselves into Publick Cares and Concerns, but studied all the Arts of an idle, a jolly, and a pleasant Life; and minded nothing but Wine, and Love, and Poetry: But those of our Age are a sort of Devillish and Malicious Wretches, whose proud and arrogant Minds make them love Mischief for Mischief's sake; they have so mean an opinion of other Men in comparison to themselves, that they treat them just after the same rate as we do Insects and Vermin; and will for the ostentation of their own Power and Greatness, sport themselves in those Miseries and Ruines they are able to draw upon the World, and will not stick to destroy Kingdoms, if it lie in their Power, only to gratifie their Insolence: And no wonder, when all the rankest Principles of Injustice and Ill-nature
lie

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lie at the bottom of their Irreligion. They are taught in the first place, that they may and ought to use all the ways of Fraud and Violence for the Advancement of their own Power and Safety; that the greater and more enormous Injuries they do to Mankind, the more are they fear'd, and that fear is their only security; and the result of all their Principles is, That every Wise Man will by any means consult his own Interest and Security, and that his Interest and Security consists chiefly in the prebeminence of his Strength above other Men; so that the more he oppresses them, the more he acts up to the Laws of Nature, and Principles of Wisdom. And then being insolent as well as ill-natured, they care not what Mischiefs they do out of meer Humour and Wantonness; and the more extravagant they are in their Injuries and Oppressions, their Power is so much the more considerable, they scorn an ordinary Vice almost as much as to say their Prayers; but if they can invent any new and unheard-of Wickedness, that Vulgar Sinners have not the Wit to light upon, nor the Courage to venture at, that is an height of Bravery, and only fit to be attempted by Men of their Parts and Breeding: so that they love Mischief, if not altogether as the Devils do, for its own sake, yet at least (and that is almost as bad) out of Pride and Singularity; they cannot brook it

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to be inferior to any Man in any thing that they are pleased to pretend to, and yet are they pleased to pretend to every thing. And from hence it is that they can be no real Friends to any Government, only because the Supremacy of Power did not happen to fall to their share; and they can never have any hearty kindness for their Prince, though for no other reason than because he is their Superior; a little affront or neglect from him, shall disoblige them for ever: they are implacable in their revenge, and every slight displeasure immediately puts them upon nothing less than thoughts of Treason and Rebellion.

But the great Object of their Hatred and Indignation, is the Priestly Office; their proud Spirits cannot bear it to see such mean and contemptible Fellows brave it with so much Awe and Authority over the Minds of the People; but they are past all patience that they should dare to pretend to vie Wisdom with themselves, and undertake publicly to convict such mighty Wits of Folly and Ignorance, and prevail so far as to be able to expose them to popular Scorn and Infamy: for 'tis manifest that their Principles will never much take in the World, in that the generality of Men are not to be workt off from their natural sense of Religion; that ever did, and ever will keep the strongest Party in spite of all Opposition, and whoever attempts against it, must of necessity be run down with Reprach and
c Disgrace;

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Disgrace; and that transports them beyond all bounds, to be thus contemptuously kept under by ignorant and ill-bred Fops; and it becomes the great exercise of their Wit and their Drink to entertain the Company with pleasant Stories of Priests and Black-coats. This humour has prevail'd so far in our Age, beyond what it could ever arrive to in former times, that it is become in some degree Gentile and fashionable; every Man now has Wit and Pride enough to despise a Parson, and he is no Vertuoso, that does not in his common and Table-talk call and prove them Cheats and Impostors; and some Persons that one would think should have more Breeding or more Sobriety, affect the extravagance out of meer wantonness; and others that are no declared Enemies to the Cause of Religion, are yet well enough content for other reasons to have its Officers kept low and despicable; but for some reason or other they meet with disrespect enough on all hands. And now, though this ill usage signifies very little to those against whom it is intended, because it falls upon an Order of Men that are above its regard and resentment; in that the Clergy of the Church of England know themselves far enough from being obnoxious to any contempt but what Sacrilege has made unavoidable; and though we take them under all the Disadvantages that Plunder, and Robbery, and Reformation (as some Men have managed

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naged it) has brought upon them; they are at this very time vastly the farthest off from being justly contemptible (to mention no other Order or Profession of Men) of any Clergy in the World; the prebeminence is so evident, that it clears the comparison from all possible suspicion of its being either proud or odious: But though this unkindness be able to do them so little harm, yet it falls very heavy in its mischievous Consequences upon the Publick. For all wise States have hitherto always given the deepest respect to the Presidents of the sacred Rites, and sealed the greatest Priviledges and Immunities upon the Church, as well for Reasons of State, as for the Ends of Devotion. In that no Government can support it self without the Assistance of Religion, and the Assistance of Religion is ever proportioned to the Power and Interest of the Clergy; its Esteem (as it is in all other Arts, Sciences, and Professions) depends upon the Reputation of those, whose Office it is to dispense its Mysteries and Publick Solemnities; they have always and every where found the same Fate, and the same Entertainment; so that to make the Priestly Order any way contemptible, is to enervate the force of Religion upon the Consciences of Subjects, and thereby to destroy the greatest Strength and most lasting Security of the Civil Government. So interwoven are the Cause of God and the Prince

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and the Priest, that no Man can be an Enemy to one, without proclaiming Hostility to all. Is not this wise work then, and fit to be endured in a Christian-Commonwealth, for the witty People to be so much concerned to make the Profession of the Clergy vile and despicable? especially when this whole Design is at last founded upon no milder Supposition, than that Jesus Christ himself is the great and leading Impostor: for if he were seriously vested with any Authority from Heaven, their Commission from him is too evident to be called into question: so that if the Power they claim by virtue of his Grant be forged and insignificant Usurpation, it is only because he abused the World with Tales and false Pretences to a Divine Authority, i. e. only because he was the lewdst and most profligate Impostor that ever appeared amongst Mankind. And this no doubt is a notable piece both of Policy and Good-manners, to be own'd, yes, or endured in a Christian-Commonwealth. But yet however passing by this horrid Blasphemy against our Blessed Saviour, and if our Religion were nothing else but (as all Religion is lately defined) the Belief of Tales publickly allowed, and the Priesthood only a Succession of Cheats and Juglers; yet after all this, they are and must be allowed necessary Instruments in the State to awe the common People into fear and Obedience, because nothing
else

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else can so effectually enslave them as the dread of invisible Powers, and the dismal Apprehensions of the World to come; and for this very reason, though there were no other, it is fit they should be allowed the same Honour and Respect as would be acknowledged their due if they were sincere and honest Men; because unless that be supposed, they can never bring that assistance that is absolutely necessary to the support of Government, and the preservation of Society. But so far are they from being allowed that Respect and Reputation that is necessary to the usefulness of their Function, that they are even Out-lawed from the common Rights of Justice and Humanity. One would wonder how People should so combine in such an inhumane and imprudent baseness, but that the reason is so very plain and obvious. The old Probity and Integrity of our Nation is fled and gone, and what remains of it, has taken Sanctuary in the Church and its Friends, that are assaulted by a Fanatick Rage on one hand, and a base-natured Atheism on the other, and then no wonder if they are treated accordingly, when they are fallen into the hands of such Salvages and Cannibals. And in truth when I consider the temper of both these sorts of Men, that the one hates Peace, and the other hates Mankind, and withal some present and some probable Circumstances of things, it were easie to represent to view a black and gloo-

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my prospect of things : but it is to no purpose to affright our selves with distant Miseries, and it is better to leave the care of future Events to the Wisdom of Providence, sufficient to the day is the evil thereof ; only let me desire thee, Reader, to consider whether that Nation be according to Humane Accounts likely to continue long in a firm and settled Condition of Peace, a great part of whose Inhabitants are tainted with such malignant Principles, as make them to delight in Mischiefe and Confusion. Atheism and Enthusiasm are apart and by themselves the most desperate and dangerous causes of Misery and Calamity to Mankind ; but when they combine Interests and join Forces against a common Enemy, what Government can withstand their Fury, in that there is no Wickedness that is necessary to the carrying on the Cause, that one of them will not undertake, and be able to go through with ? They are provided with all sorts of Pretences, and prepared for all kinds of Villanies ; and if there should happen in their way any attempt so very horrid, that the Saints were for very shame obliged to boggle at it, there the bold and profest Sinners may advance and lead on the Party ; and if on the contrary there be need of any Hypocritical Declarations or Remonstrances too demure for these bare-faced People to patronize, they must be subscribed and carried on by the zealous and sanctified

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United Ones: And thus when they combine together, there is no kind of hindrance that they may not easily overcome, nor of advantage that they may not as easily command. Their Union is like the mixture of Nitre and Charcoal, it carries all before it without Mercy or Resistance.

III. Especially if in the third place, it should ever so fall out, that crafty and sacrilegious States-men should join themselves into the Confederacy. There are several sorts of these devouring Vermin, but the most dangerous (because the least honest) are the cowardly and self-designing Men, that in Publick Employments mind nothing but purely their own private Interest, and so that thrive, care not how much the Affairs of the Commonwealth run backward. All their Counsel is nothing but Flattery, and they will not stick to exhort a Prince to undo himself, if it be in such ways as are agreeable to his Vice or Humour. They will encourage and authorize the lawfulness of all his Practices; and if he have any ill Inclinations, they will recommend them for great and Princely Qualities, and assist them too by the meanest and most dishonourable Services. They will debauch his Mind with such Principles as will allow him to do the most dishonest and unworthy things without shame or remorse of Conscience; they will set him at liberty from all the

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Restraints of Religion, and prepossess his Mind against all the Counsels of Priests, and not suffer him to be imposed upon with their Impostures and juggling Pretences; neither is it fit for a Sovereign Prince to think himself obliged by the Laws of good or evil; Truth, and Justice, and Honesty, and every thing must give place to the Publick Weal; and when the Safety or the Interest of the Crown requires it, then breach of Faith is not Falshood, nor to slay the Innocent Murther. It is not for Kings to submit themselves to the Pedantry of the Laws, nor are States to be Govern'd by scruples of Credit or Conscience; Convenience is, and ever was the only Rule of Policy; and you may violate your Word or your Oath for Reasons of State, all the wisest and all the greatest Princes in the World have ever done it before you. None but ignorant and unexperienced Book-men would ever go about to tie the Management of State-Affairs to the strict Rules of Morality. Alas! they understand not the nature and the difficulty of Government; they never observed the rise and decays of Empires, nor ever weighed all the Circumstances and Possibilities of things, and from hence it is that they prescribe such impracticable Methods of Policy, and are so desperately silly as in many cases to require Princes rather to hazard their Crowns, than to lose their Reputations. No, it is for Subjects to do as they

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they ought, but for Sovereigns as they please, Nay, (what is more unhappy than all this) these false Pretenders to Policy are forced in their own defence to whisper in their Princes Ear such Maxims and Propositions, as directly undermine, or at least undervalue all Principles of Government. They instruct him to despise his own Authority, and to resolve all Sovereign Power rather into Chance and Fortune, than any Institution of the Divine Providence. And hereby they roundly cancel all Duties and Obligations of Allegiance, and allow no other Ties of Fidelity upon Subjects than present Interest and Preferment; that are always as effectual under a prosperous Usurper, as they are or can be under a Lawful Prince; and then if there either does, or ever has hapned any Competition of that kind, they only are to be look'd upon as the Men of Shrewdness and Understanding, that know how to temporize, and tack about neatly with all Turns of Affairs: whilst all others that make Conscience of their Loyalty, and have or are ready to venture Lives and Fortunes in defence of the Rightful and Hereditary Claim, shall be marked out as shallow People, that understand not the true Wisdom and Interest of Humane Nature. They Govern a Nation! Poor Souls! they have not Wit enough to Govern themselves, and to manage their own little Concerns. They are likely to give their
Prince

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Prince wonderful Advice for the Advancement of his Prerogative, that have so little reach to consult or consider the improvement of their own private Estates. Take them to your Council, and they will be perpetually troubling your Head, and entangling your Affairs with Cases of Conscience; they shall endanger your Safety to preserve your Honour, and hazard your Crown for a pedantick Word; and when you might easily disengage your self from any Streights or Difficulties, only by making bold with your Word, or perhaps forgetting an Oath or so, you must rather chuse by their Maxims of State to perish under them, than make (as they call it) a dishonest or dishonourable escape: and all the reward you shall have to compensate your Misfortune, shall be perchance that a few Church-Men and such like People shall cry you up for a Saint or a Martyr, whilst all Men that have any Brains or Breeding shall pity your Softness and Simplicity. It becomes not Men of Wit to be over-awed with these old Grandame Stories of Honesty and Conscience: they are fit Tales to abuse the Rabble into Servitude, but Interest of State is the only Rule of Princes, and they are to know no other Cases of Conscience, but Maxims of Italian Policy, nor to employ any other Persons in State-Affairs, but such as are able to go thorow with all Undertakings, and such as will never scruple the Lawfulness
of

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of any Action so is be but expedient. And the last result of all their Wisdom is, that they would persuade their Prince that none are fit to be employed but only such as are not fit to be trusted, such as have set themselves at Liberty from all Principles and Pretences of Honesty, and are as ready to betray their Prince for their own Interest, as they are to oppress and abuse his Subjects for his. And by these and the like Suggestions, if they chance to take, they quickly run the Commonwealth into woful Streights and Distresses, and then there is no way to maintain their former Practices, but by proceeding on to farther Enormities, till at last they are forced to support their Government by Rapine and Sacrilege. There have been sufficient numbers of these People at all times in all Princes Courts; so that though their Doctrine does not always reign, yet it is always contending for Superiority with the Rules of Honour and Vertue.

Now 'tis none of my business, and but little to my purpose to upbraid the folly of these shuffling and half-witted Principles, and to shew that (when all tricks are tried) there is no lasting Wisdom or Policy beside true and generous Honesty: for though Falshood and Cunning may make shift to subsist awhile, yet it is soon discover'd, and then it is never after trusted: Reputation is one of the greatest Strengths

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Strengths and best Securities of Interest; and when that is gone, suspected Power is but a lamentable weak and tottering thing, it has no support beside it self, and all its pretended Allies are its real Enemies, and first or last it is entangled in such Streights and Embroilments, from which it can never be able to disengage it self but in violent and illegal ways. And then the easiest and first Attempt of Oppression, is by Sacriledge and Church-Plunder. The Ecclesiastick Order are a tame and helpless sort of Men; and if you think good to invade their Propriety, they have no remedy to relieve themselves but Patience and a contented Poverty; and whenever Exigences of State require it, you may easily stop one Gap with their Endowments. This is so common and so natural, that it is always the first Effect of ill Government, unless only in such places where Churchmen have scrued up themselves to a Superiority or Equality of Interest with the secular Power, and are by that means able to hold their own. It is true, the small Remainders of our Church-Revenues are pretty well secured, not only by the slender Account they would amount to, (for Sacriledge has already devoured the whole Harvest, and has only scattered a few Gleanings to the Church and Church-men,) nor only by their dependance upon the Crown, whereby his Majesty keeps the most considerable
Order

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*Order of Men in the Commonwealth at his Service, and that at no Charge; nor only because the Tribute that returns back to his Exchequer in First-Fruits, Tenths, &c. is so considerable a Proportion of the Revenue, that their Sale and Alienation would amount but to very little more; for if ever they should be brought to Market, they would go off at a very low Rate, and at a very few years Purchase. It is possible they may pretty well enrich the Buyer, or rather Adventurer, but all the advantage the Seller can ever gain by it, will be to alienate his perpetual Inheritance, only to receive three or four years Rent at one Payment, which is the very same with the Providence of Fools, and the Policy of Prodigals. But beside this security which the Church has, as well as all other Beggars, that it is not worth the robbing; it has at present an impregnable Affiance in the Wisdom, the Honour, and the Piety of a Gracious Prince, that is not capable of attending to such Counsels, should they be suggested to him; though certainly no Man, that is worthy to be admitted to His Majesty favour or privacy, can be supposed so fool-hardy or presumptuous as to offer such weak and dishonourable Advice to so wise and able a Prince: so that it is secure of Protection during his Life and Reign. But yet Princes are mortal, and we are sure (though we had no Text to vouch it) that they must die
like*

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like Men; and then, if ever hereafter (and some time or other it must happen) the Crown should chance to settle upon a young and unexperienced Head, this is usually the first thing in which such Princes are abused by their Keepers and Guardians, and then the Church must by all means be reformed and new modelled, i. e. in Court-stile plundered or demolish'd only to build great Houses for two or three Favourites or Flatterers. And now when this is done, there is nothing can bid so fair for the next turn as Popery, because (beside many other Reasons) there is nothing left to stand in Competition with it: for some publick and establish'd Religion the Kingdom must and will have; but when the Church of England is destroyed, it must either have that or none. For Fanaticism, howsoever useful it may be to the Designs of Rebels and Usurpers, is too untoward and intractable to be ever much doated upon by any settled Authority. And thus these extravagant People by the Assistance and under the Patronage of Rebellion, Atheism and Sacrilege, may possibly endanger a Change of Religion; and by being employed as Journey-men, or rather Tools to destroy the Church of England, may sooner than we are aware of, make a free and unobstructed passage for the return of Popery in Glory and Triumph. I know no other grounds of fear or danger from
them,

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them, beside these already mentioned, unless this may prove one at last, that by their wanton and unreasonable peevishness to the ingenious and moderate Discipline of the Church of England, they give their Governours too much reason to suspect that they are never to be kept in order by a milder and more gentle Government than that of the Church of Rome, and force them at last to scourge them into better manners with the Briers and Thorns of their Discipline.

And thus (Reader) having sufficiently tired both thee and my self too, it is high time to request thy pardon for presenting thee with such a Rhapsody of hasty and budled Thoughts: I have nothing to say in my own excuse, but that I never intended to have been so tedious; but so many warm and glowing Meditations started up in my way, as without much musing made my Heart burn, and the fire kindle; and that has beated me into all this wild and rambling Talk, (as some will be forward enough to call it) though I hope it is not altogether idle; and whether it be or be not, I have now neither leisure nor patience to examine; and therefore if thou meet with any passages that would have confest this for me, though I had kept my own Counsel, I can only cast my self upon thy Candour, and offer

Security

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*Security never to offend again in the like kind.
And now after this, I have no other Favour to
request, than what concerns thee as much as
my self, viz. To beg thy hearty Prayers and
Endeavours for the Peace and Prosperity of the
Church of England; for when that is gone, it
will be very hard to find out another, with
which, if thou art either honest or wise, thou
wilt be over-forward to join Communion.*

E R R A T A.

In the Preface.

Page 12. line 4. for *strict*, read *secret*. Pag. 14.
lin. 16. for *his*, read *this*. Pag. 58. lin. 8. for *be-
yond*, read *below*. Pag. 86. l. 13. before *the*, read
are.

In the Book.

Page 1. line 2. for *it*, read *be*. Pag. 10. lin. 8.
read *annum*. Pag. 18. lin. 18. read *Eraſtian*. Pag.
20. lin. 21. for *deserve*, read *desert*. Pag. 34. lin. 25.
before *cry*, read *to*. Pag. 38. lin. 1. for *Cane*, read
Cave. Pag. 40. lin. 12. for *too*, read *to*.

Bishop

*Of Mr. Baxter and his Books, and
Sequestrations.*

BEfore I saw Mr. *Baxters* late Treatise called, *The Grotian Religion*, it was to me, *nec beneficio nec injuria*, neither known for good nor hurt. I acknowledge the very Title of his
B Book

Book did not please me. Different Opinions do not make different *Religions*. It is the Golden Rule of Justice, *not to do that to another, which a man wou'd not have done to himself*. He would take it unkindly himself to have his own Religion contradistinguished into the *Prelatical Religion*, from which he doth not much dissent, so he might have the naming of the Prelates; and the *Presbyterian Religion*, which he doth profess for the present; and the *Independent Religion*, which he shaketh kindly by the hand; and the *Anabaptistical Religion*, which challengeth Seniority of all Modern Sects. And then to have his *Presbyterian Religion* subdivided either according to the number of the Churches, into the *English Religion*, and the *Scotish Religion*; and the *Gallician Religion*, and the *Belgian Religion*, and the *Helvetian Religion*, and the *Allobrogian Religion*; of all the names of the *Reformers*, into the *Calvinistical Religion*, and *Brownistical Religion*, *Zwinglian Religion*, and *Eraastian Religion*, &c.

For

For all these have their differences; And so himself in his Preface to this very Treatise, admits those things for pious Truths, for which we have been branded with the names of *Papists* and *Arminians*, and have been plundered and spoiled of all that we had.

Let himself be judge whether this be not *to have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ with respect of persons. Jam: 2.1.* The Church of Christ is but one, *one Fold and one Shepherd*; Christian Religion is but one, *one Lord, one Faith, one Hope.* Then why doth he multiply Religions, and cut the Christian Faith into shreds, as if every Opinion were a fundamental Article of Religion? Let him remember that of St. Hierome; *If you shall hear those who are said to be Christians any where, to be denominated not from the Lord Jesus Christ, but from some other person, know that this is not the Church of Christ, but the synagogue of Antichrist.*

So much for the Title of Mr. Baxters Book, now for his design. His main
B 2 scope

scope is to shew that *Grotius* under a pretence of reconciling the Protestant Churches with the *Roman* Church, hath acted the part of a Coy-duck, willingly or unwillingly to lead Protestants into Popery. And therefore he held himself obliged in duty to give warning to Protestants to *beware of Grotius his followers in England, who under the name of Episcopal Divines, do prosecute the design of Cassander and Grotius*, to reconcile us to the Pope, Page 2. And being pressed by his adversary to name those Episcopal Divines (*vir dolosus versatur in generalibus*) he gives no instance of any one man throughout his Book, but of myself. I shall borrow a word with him of himself, a word of *Grotius*, and a word or two concerning myself.

First for himself, he doth but wound himself through *Grotius* his sides, and in his censuring *Grotius*, teach his own *Fellows* to serve him with the same sawce. *Grotius* and Mr. *Baxter* both prosecute the same design of reconciliation, but Mr. *Baxters* object is the *Bri-*
sis

zish World, and *Grotius* his Object is the Christian World. Mr. *Baxter* as well as *Grotius* in prosecuting his design, doth admit many things which the greater part of his own Fellows do reject. As that *Fraterition* is an act of justice in God, *Præf. sect. 7.* That God giveth sufficient grace (in the Jesuits sense) to those that perish, *sect. 8.* That Redemption is universal, They (the Synod of Dort) give more to Christs Death for the Elect than we, but no less that he knows of to his Death for all than we, *sect. 10.* He is as much for Free-will as we, They all profess that Man hath the natural faculty of Free-will, *sect. 11.* He who had all his other Treatises which I did never see, in probability might find much more of the same kind. I do not dislike him for this, but rather commend him for unwrapping himself as warily as he could without any noise, out of the endless train of Error. And for other points wherein he is still at a default, I hope a little time and better information, may set him right in those as well

as these. But others of his own Party do believe all these points which he admits to be as downright *Poper*y as any is within the Walls of *Rome*. And with the same freedom and reason that he censures *Grotius*, they may censure *him* for the *Popes* stalking Horse or Coy-duck to reconcile us to *Rome*. Neither can he plead any thing for himself, which may not be pleaded as strongly, or more strongly for *Grotius*.

He may object that those things which he admitteth, are all evident Truths; but sundry of those things which are admitted by *Grotius*, are *Po-pish* Errors. This is confidently said, but how is he able to make it good to other men. *Grotius* took himself to have as much reason as *Mr. Baxter*, and much more learning and reading than *Mr. Baxter*. But still if his Fellows do no more approve of what he saith, than he approveth of that which *Grotius* saith, they have as good ground to censure him, as he hath to censure *Grotius*. Those very points which are admitted

mitted by Mr. *Baxter*, are esteemed by his Fellows to be as gross and fundamental Errors, as any of those other supernumerary points which are maintained by *Grotius*. But to come up closer to him, What if those other points disputed between *Grotius* and *him* be meer *logomachies*, or contentions about words, or mistaken Truths? He himself confesseth as much now of all the *Arminian* tenets, *Pref. Sect. 15.* *I am grown to a very great confidence that most of our contentions about those [Arminian] points are more about words than matter.* Again, in the same Section; *The doctrine of the divine decrees is resolved into that of the divine operations. Let us agree of the last, and we agree of the former. And almost all the doctrine of the divine operations about which we differ, dependeth on the point of Free-will, and will be determined with that. And how far we differ (if at all) in the point of Free will, &c.* I see Truth is the daughter of Time. Now our *Arminian* Controversies are avowed to have

been but contentions about words. Now it is become a doubtful case, and deserving an *if*, whether we have any difference at all about Free-will or no. The wind is gotten into the other dore, since we were prosecuted and decried as *Pelagians*, and enemies of Grace, because we maintained some old innocent Truths which the *Church of England* and the *Catholick Church* even taught her Sons, before *Arminius* was born. Some of their greatest Sticklers do owe a great account to God, and a great reparation to us, for those groundless calumnies, which they cast upon us at that time. For the present I only lay down this disjunctive Conclusion; Either *Mr. Baxter* and his Fellows have changed their judgment from what it was then, which makes the distance seem less now, or they did us abominable wrong then; or both these Propositions without any disjunction, are undoubtedly true. *Mr. Baxter*, who was so much mistaken in his *Arminian* points then, may be as much mistaken in his *Grotian* points now.

He

He noteth the time when he began his Book, *April 9. 1658.* and when he ended it, *April 14. 1658.* by which account it cost him but six days inclusively, comprehending both the day when he began, and the day when he ended. In my judgment this circumstance might better have been omitted. Among those who seem to approve his Work, some will ascribe it to the fortune of *Augustus* in *Suetonius* in the life of *Claudius*, τὸς ἐὸν υἱὸς ἐς τελευτὰ παύειν, happy men may have children at 3 months. Some others will take it as a *symptom* of vain-glory, other men must dig deep to lay a good foundation; but Mr. *Baxters* happiness is only by turning the Cock to spout out whole Pages in an instant, as if he had found them set to his hands, and his part had been only to imprint them. Here was neither *multa dies*, nor *multa litura*, neither much time lost, nor much pains taken in correcting. Thirdly, All men will say that he undervalues his Adversary, and makes his Victory too cheap, without either blood or sweat.

And

And on the other side, among those who dislike his Work, some will make bold to tell him, that he presumes too much upon his Readers courtesie to publish such raw undigested fancies upon fewer days deliberation than the Poet requires *years, nonnumque prematur in arminum*. Others will not stick to say that they knew by the Treatise it self, though he had held his peace, that it cost him no great labour. And lastly, His saddest and most judicious Readers will suspect that he hath not weighed his Citations as he ought. Certainly all those testimonies which he produces out of *Grotius* in this Book, if he had examined them as exactly as he ought, with their coherence with the *Antecedents* and *Consequents*; and compared them with those Authors whom *Grotius* doth alledge for confirming of his own judgment, would have taken up thrice as many days as he assigneth to this Work, yea though he had made use of *Aristotles Ball* and his *Bason* to keep him waking.

Before I leave his own part, I cannot choose

choose but tell him that I do not, I cannot approve of his defence of *Sequestrations*. And what he believeth of idle ignorant unworthy Pastours that they are obliged to make restitution, the same do I firmly believe of his *Sequestrators*, that without restitution according to the extent of their power, they can have small hope of salvation. But first I must crave leave to tell him, that he doth utterly mistake the question. First he doth disown *the casting out of able and godly Ministers, because they are Prelatical, or supposed Arminians, or interested in the late civil differences*. But we know that the greatest part of sequestred persons were such, and ejected for those very reasons. So he disowns the question.

And as he disowns the question, so he diverts it from sequestred Ministers, to ignorant unsufficient reading Ministers. There was no need why he should have put reading Ministers into his *Apology*: and yet he cannot choose but know that good use may be made of reading Ministers in a constituted

ated *Church*; and that there is much less danger of them than of *ignorant* or seditious *Preachers*. Our reading Ministers of all the Clergy were in least danger of their *Sequestrators*, who looked more at the value of the *Benefice*, than at the qualifications of those persons who were turned out. He who doubteth of this general Truth, upon inquiry into particular Cases, may quickly satisfy himself.

And as he disowns the question, and diverts the question, so he begs the question; that those Ministers whom they put in, were incomparably better than those they turned out. No, nor yet worthy to be named the same day with them. Compare those *Provosts*, and *Presidents*, and *Professors*, and *Fellows*, and *Scholars*, who were turned out of our *Universities*, with those *Burghers* in comparison, whom for the most part they introduced, or read but the *Martyrology* of the City of *London* alone with an impartial eye, and consider sadly how many eminent persons for Learning, Piety, and Industry, have been

been turned out of their livelihoods; meerly for those reasons which he disowneth, and dares not justifie. He who shall do this thing seriously, and compare them with their crawling Successors, will find cause enough to write upon the dores of their habitations, *O domus antiqua quam dispari dominaris Domino?* From this Foot a man may easily conjecture the proportion of the whole Body, and what have been the sufferings of our Orthodox Clergy throughout the whole Kingdom, contrary to the Laws of God and Man; how many of them have been beggered and necessitated to turn Mechanicks or Day-Labourers; how many imprisoned, or forced to forsake their Native Country and seek their bread among strangers; how many have had their hearts broken, some starved, some murdered, and the spoyl of their houses given for a Reward to the Murtherer. But this is a sad Subject to dwell upon. God Almighty pardon them who have had any hand in these cruel courses, and give them true repentance. In the
mean

mean time their Sequestrators, notwithstanding their former censures against all *Pluralists*, and their present pretended self-denial, were well contented to hold Pluralities themselves with confidence enough.

But now I will suppose all that which he desires, and which he is never able to prove; yea which his own conscience tells him to be much otherwise, that all persons who have been sequestred or turned out of their Benefices by them, had been such undeserving persons as he feigneth: and all those who were put in their places had been such learned, honest, and Orthodox Divines; such as out of conscience and a desire to do good, did seek as much after the stipendiary Cures of Reading Ministers, as after the larger Benefices of more eminent Scholars; yet these sequestred persons had a just title to their Benefices by the *Laws of England*.

That which was theirs by *Law*, cannot be taken from them without *Law*, or against *Law*. Dominion is founded in Nature, not in Grace. Nothing is more

more hidden than true Grace: we understand it not certainly in another, hardly in our selves. Therefore if Grace should give every one that pretends to it, interest in that which is another mans lawful Possession, no mans title could be certain to another, scarcely to himself; from whence must necessarily follow an incredible confusion, and an inevitable perturbation of all estates.

By the Laws of *England* they were possessed of their Benefices, and by the Laws of *England* they ought to be outed of their *Benefices*. They who decried Arbitrary Government, should not be the only men to introduce *Arbitrary* Government into *England*. The Law of *England* knoweth no way to out a man of his Benefice but *death, cession, or deprivation*. It knoweth no deprivation but for crimes committed against Law, and that Law more ancient than those Crimes, *where there is no Law, there is no transgression*, and where there is no transgression, there can be no deprivation. The Law of *England* knoweth

knoweth no deprivation but by persons to whom the ancient Law of *England* hath committed the power of depriving. So every way their *sequestrations* are unlawful, and they who hold them are like Moths which inhabit in other mens Garments. Of all the Commandments the eighth is most dangerous; other Commandments oblige to Repentance, but that obligeth both to Repentance and Restitution. His instances of a *Physitian*, and a *Commander*, and a *Pilot*, who hold their Offices *ad voluntatem Domini*, so long as their Masters think fit, are not applicable to a Benefice, which is the inheritance of the present Incumbent and his Successors. Sequestration may have place during the vacancie of a Benefice, or until the decision of some Process depending, or for the discharge of some Duty which by Law is incumbent upon the Benefice; but such lawless Arbitrary Sequestrations as these were, are plain Robbery by all Laws of God and Man.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

*Of Grotius, and what Communion
he was of.*

NExt for *Grotius* and others of his charitable way, I acknowledge freely, that I preferr one page of *Wicelins*, or *Cassander*, or *Grotius*, for true judgment before all the Works of *Taulerus*, and ten more such Authors. Yet I have read sundry of them, and sometimes have approved more of their piety than of their judgment; and at other times repented of the loss of my time. Yea, I do preferr these *three* before an hundred yawning wishers for Peace, whilst they do nothing that tendeth to the procuring of Peace. Particularly, I do admire the *two* former for this reason, because their clearer judgments did pierce so deep into the Controversies of *Religion*, before they were rightly stated. And their free spirits dared to tell the World impartially what was amiss, according

to the dictates of their Consciences, though with the hazard of their lives, without any other motive than the discharge of their duties. And if any of them be reviled for their Charity, the greater is their *Reward in Heaven*.

Yet I cannot pin my *Religion* to any of their Sleeves. *Plato* is my friend, and *Socrates* is my friend, but *Truth* is my best friend. Perhaps I may disapprove some things in *Grotius* his Works, or some parts of them, more than Mr. *Baxter* himself. He extol-
leth his Book *of the right of the Sovereign Magistrates in sacred things*: But when I did read it, he seemed to me to come too near an *Evastian*, and to lessen the power of the Keys too much, which *Christ* left as a Legacie to his *Church*. It may be he did write that before he was come to full maturity of judgment; and some other things, I do not say after he was superannuated, but without that due deliberation which he useth at other times, wherein a man may desire *Grotius* in *Grotius*.
Or

Or it may be that some things have been changed in some of his Works, as I have been told by one of his nearest friends, and that we shall shortly see a more *authentick* Edition of them all. This is certain, that some of those things which I dislike, were not his own judgment after he was come to maturity in Theological matters.

But whereas Mr. *Baxter* doth accuse him as a *Papist*, I think he doth him wrong: Nay I am confident he doth him wrong, and that he oweth a reparation to his memory. I have read all that he alledgeth to prove him a *Papist*, but without any conviction or alteration in my judgment. And I believe that one who delighteth in such kind of contentions, would find it no difficult task to clear all his Objections, and demonstrate the contrary out of the Writings of *Grotius* himself, and others of the most learned and judicious *Protestants*. Sometimes he accuseth him of that which is not true at all, *sub modo*, as it is alledged, Nothing can be so truly said, but that it may be

depraved by misrelation or misinterpretation, or inconsequent inferences.

At other times he accuseth him of that for *Popery* which is no *Popery*, the greater, and better, and sounder part of Protestants being Judges. Yet if *Grotius* his *Genius* had been somewhat less *critical*, and so much more *Scholastical*, he had not laid so open to Mr. *Baxters* accusations,

Unum hoc maceror & doleo sibi deesse.

It shall suffice me to say, that he was a person of rare parts, of excellent Learning, of great Charity, and of so Exemplary a Life, that his fiercest Adversaries had nothing to object against him of moment: but were forced to rake into the faults of his Family, which whether true or false, was not so ingeniously done.

But lest any man might chance unawares to hit his own spiritual Mother out of a mistake, I will endeavour to give some further light, what was the
Reli-

Religion of *Grotius*. He was in affection a *friend*, and in desire a *true Son* of the Church of *England*. And upon his *Death-bed* recommended that Church, as it was legally established, to his *Wife*, and such other of his *Family* as were then about him, obliging them by his Authority to adhere firmly to it, so far as they had opportunity. And both my self, and many others have seen his *Wife* in obedience to her *Husbands* commands, which she declared publickly to the World, to repair often to our Prayers and Sacraments, and to bring at least one of his Grandchildren to Sir *Richard Browns* house then *Resident* for the King in *Paris* to be baptized into the Faith and Communion of the Church of *England*, and be made a Member thereof, as it was accordingly. If any man think that he knoweth *Grotius* his mind better by conjectural consequences, than he did himself; or that he would dissemble with his *Wife* and Children upon his *Death-bed*, he may enjoy his own opinion to himself, but he will find few to joyn with him. C 3 CHAP.

CHAP. III.

No Grotian Design in England.

ANother branch of his Discourse is, concerning the *Grotian Design in England*. He pretends that there was a Party of *Grotius* his followers in England, who prosecuted his design of reconciling us to the Pope, under the name of *Episcopal Divines*, Pag. 2. That *Grotius* had a Pacificatory design, all men acknowledge; and he himself extolleth it as much as any of us, *Pr. S. 3.* For his *Pacificatory design in general*, I take it to be one of the most Christian noble blessed works that any man can be employed in. That *Grotius* was a Stalking-Horse for the Pope, or had any design but in order to Peace and Truth; or that he had any Party in *England*, who followed him further than he followed the Truth, after all Mr. *Baxters* pretences, we have no reason to believe. This is his own absurd and groundless presumption.

sumption. For certainly *Grotius* could have no thoughts of introducing any *Papish* errors into *England*, who looked upon the Church of *England*, as the right *medium* of reconciliation. Neither were there any *genuine* Sons of the Church of *England* who thought upon any change either in *Doctrine* or *Discipline*. We may safely take our Oaths of the truth thereof. It was his own Party, only his own Party, who were plotting and contriving a change underhand, and cried out against other mens feigned innovations, to conceal their own real innovations. But how doth he make it appear that *Grotius* had such a Party of followers in *England*, who sought to reconcile us to the Pope? If it be sufficient to accuse, no man can be innocent. Let him speak out distinctly, we fear not his charge; would they reconcile us to the *Pope* and *Papacy* as it is now established? Let him not say it for shame, they abhor it. Or would they reduce the *Pope* to what he was from the beginning, and so reconcile us? All good

Christians joyn with them in so pious an Act. If his own meaning do agree with his words, he himself doth not quarrel the *Pope* for his just rights, but for his *Innovations*. If he mean it not, it is a double shame.

His first Reason to prove that there was such a Party of *Grotians* in *England*, who nourished such a Design, is taken from *Grotius* his own words, *P.96*. *Paris knows, and many throughout France, many in Poland and Germany, not a few in England, quiet persons and lovers of Peace, that Grotius his labours for Peace, have not displeased many moderate persons.* He addeth, *that Rivet agreed better with the Brownists, than with the Bishops of England.* For pity sake let him shew us wherein the strength of his Argument doth lie. He may as well perswade us that we see a Dragon flying in the air, as that there is any design of introducing the *Pope* couched in these words. Doth the strength of his Argument perhaps lie in this, that there were lovers of Peace in *England*?
So

So there were all over Christendom before *Grotius* was born. *France, Germany, Poland,* all Christendom shake hands with us in this. He himself professeth that *he is resolved to speak for Peace whilest he hath a tongue to speak; and to write for Peace whilest he hath an hand to write,* p. 6. Or doth the strength of his Argument lie in this, that *Rivet* agreed better with the *Brownists* than with the Bishops of *England*? Whether he did or did not, whether it be true or false, what doth this concern Episcopal Divines? Such are his proofs against *Grotius* always halting on one side, most commonly on both sides. I am afraid this great mountain-design will prove but a ridiculous Moule in the conclusion.

He asketh, *What if he had named Bishop Goodman, and all the rabble described in the Legenda lignea, which are more than Doctor Vane, and Doctor Goffe, and Doctor Bailly, and H. P. de Cressie, &c. p. 99.* I answer, First, If he had named these for Episcopal

scopal Divines of the Church of *England*, of whom he held it necessary to admonish his Readers, that they might beware of them as Promoters of the *Grotian* design, he had made himself guilty of one of the grossest and silliest calumnies that ever was. For some of these were dead, and all of them apostated to the Church of *Rome* before he gave his warning. And Bishop *Goodman* in particular, was branded by the Church of *England* for his inclination to *Roman* Errours.

Secondly, I answer, that if he had named these, he had wounded his own Party more than Episcopal Divines. Abate only Bishop *Goodman*, whom I did never know, and of the rest whom he nameth, not one was throughly a genuine Episcopal Divine. Excuse me for telling the truth plainly, many who have had their education among Sectaries, or Non-Conformists, have apostated to *Rome*, but few or no right Episcopal Divines. Hot water freezeth the soonest.

He addeth, That *Grotius* himself assures

assures him (whom he hath reason to believe) that there were not a few such among the Prelatical men. How! not a few such as these, who have apostated from the Church of England. For ingenuities sake, let him tell us where *Grotius* saith any such thing. *Grotius* hath not one word to his purpose, when it is duly examined. But this it is to confute Books in less time than wise or modest men would require to read them.

Hitherto he is not able to shew us any tolerable reason of his warning. But he sheweth us the occasion, p. 82. *Those that unchurch either all or most of the Protestant Churches, and maintain the Roman Church and not theirs to be true, do call us to a moderate jealousy of them.* This is farr enough from proving his bold suggestion that they have a design to introduce the Pope into England. So though all he say were true: yet he can conclude nothing from thence to make good his accusation or insinuation. I wish he would forbear these imperfect Enthymematical

mematical forms of arguing, which serve only to cover Deceit, and set down both his Propositions expressly. His assumption is wanting, which should be this: But a considerable Party of Episcopal Divines in *England*, do Unchurch all or most of the Protestant Churches, and maintain the *Roman* Church to be a true Church, and them to be no true Churches. I can assent to neither of his Propositions, nor to any part of them, as true, *sub modo*, as they are alledged by him.

First, I cannot assent to his major Proposition, That all those who make an ordinary personal uninterrupted succession of Pastors to be of the integrity of a true Church (which is the ground of of his exception) have therefore an intention, or can be justly suspected thereupon to have any intention to introduce the Pope. The *Eastern*, *Southern*, and *Northern* Churches are all of them for such a personal succession, and yet all of them utter enemies to the *Pope*. Secondly, I cannot assent to his minor Proposition, that either
all

all or any considerable part of the Episcopal Divines in *England* do Unchurch either all, or the most part of the Protestant Churches. No man is hurt but by himself. They Unchurch none at all, but leave them to stand or fall to their own Master. They do not Unchurch the *Swedish, Danish, Bohemian* Churches, and many other Churches in *Polonia, Hungaria* and those parts of the World, which have an ordinary uninterrupted succession of Pastors, some by the names of Bishops, others under the name of Seniors unto this day. (I meddle not with the *Socinians*) They unchurch not the *Lutheran* Churches in *Germany*, who both assert *Episcopacie* in their Confessions, and have actual *Superintendents* in their practice, and would have *Bishops* name and thing if it were in their power. Let him not mistake himself, those Churches which he is so tender of, though they be better known to us by reason of their Vicinity, are so far from being *all, or the most part of the Protestant Churches,*
that

that being all put together, they amount not to so great a proportion as the *Bri-tannick* Churches alone. And if one secluded out of them, all those who want an ordinary succession without their own faults, out of invincible ignorance or necessity, and all those who desire to have an ordinary succession either explicitly or implicitly, they will be reduced to a little flock indeed.

But let him set his heart at rest, I will remove this scruple out of his mind, that he may sleep securely upon both ears. Episcopal Divines do not denie those Churches to be true Churches wherein salvation may be had. We advise them, as it is our duty, to be circumspect for themselves, and not to put it to more question, whether they have Ordination or not, or deserve the general practice of the universal Church for nothing, when they may clear it if they please. Their case is not the same with those who labour under invincible necessity. What mine own sense is of it, I have declared many years
since

since to the World in print; and in the
 same way received thanks, and a pub-
 lick acknowledgment of my modera-
 tion from a *French Divine*. And yet
 more particularly in my Reply to the
 Bishop of *Chalcedon*, *Pref. p. 4.* and
cap. 1. p. 71. Episcopal Divines will
 readily subscribe to the determination
 of the learned Bishop of *Winchester*, in
 his Answer to the second Epistle of
Molineux. *Nevertheless, if our form*
(of Episcopacie) be of Divine Right,
it doth not follow from thence that there
is no salvation without it, or that a
Church cannot consist without it. He
is blind who does not see Churches con-
sisting without it; he is hard hearted who
denieth them salvation. We are none
 of those hard-hearted persons, we put
 a great difference between these things.
 There may be something absent in the
 exterior Regiment, which is of Divine
 Right, and yet salvation be to be had.
 This mistake proceedeth from not dis-
 tinguishing between the true nature
 and essence of a Church, which we
 do readily grant them, and the integri-
 ty

ty or perfection of a Church,* which we cannot grant them, without swerving from the judgment of the Catholick Church.

The other part of his assumption is no truer than the former. We do acknowledge the Church of *Rome* to be Metaphyically a true Church, as a Thief is a true Man, consisting of soul and body; so did Bishop *Morton*, Bishop *Hall*, Bishop *Davenant*, old Episcopal Divines; so did Mr. *Primrose*, and other Presbyterian Divines; so doth he himself in this very Treatise. What a weakness is it to accuse Episcopal Divines of that which he himself maintaineth. But we all denie that the Church of *Rome* is morally a true Church, because it is corrupted and erroneous: we make it to be a living Body, but sick and full of ulcers. So we neither destroy the body out of hatred to the ulcers, nor yet cherish the ulcers out of a doting affection to the body. And therefore he had no reason in the world to suspect Episcopal Divines of a plot or design to introduce

duce Popery into *England*, which they look upon as the very Gangrene of the Church.

He pleadeth a reason why he doth not name those Episcopal Divines who had this design *for fear of doing them hurt. Sect. 70.* As if it were not less hurtful to discover the nocent, if he knew any such, than to subject the innocent both to suspicion and censure, by his general descriptions. I cannot excuse his first intimation of such a design, because he had no ground at all for it: but I can easily excuse his silence now, upon another reason, because I am confident there neither are, nor ever were any such designers among the Episcopal Party.

Whereas he ought to prove his intention that there was such a design, in the place thereof he gives us some symptomes or signs whereby to know the designers. This is one great fault in his Discourse. But the worst is, they are all accidental notes, which may either hit or miss; there is not one essential mark among them. His first
D mark

mark is, *They are those that actually were the Agents in the English illegal Innovations, which kindled all our troubles in this Land, and were conformable to the Grotian design.* Those last words [and were conformable to the *Grotian* design] were well added, though they be a shameful begging of the question, and signifie the same thing by it self. A strange kind of proof: for without these words all the World will take him and his Party to be the illegal Innovators, and no body but them. The Episcopal Divines hold their old Canons, their old Articles, their old Liturgy their old Ordinal still without any change: They took the Protestation against Innovations without any difficulty, and are ready to take it over and over again. Their fault was that they could not swallow down New Covenants to innovate. His Party have changed Canons, Articles, Liturgy, all things, and yet have the confidence cry *Innovators* first.

His second mark is, *They bend the course of their Writings to make the Roman*

Roman Church honourable, and to vindicate them from Antichristianism, and to make the reformed Churches odious. This is a poor note indeed, as if men were obliged out of hatred to the Church of *Rome*, to deny it that honour which is justly due unto it, or out of affection to the Protestant Churches to justify their defects. What reward did ever any *English* Protestant get from *Rome* for doing them this honour? I know no man who honours the Church of *Rome* more than himself. He calls *Cassander, Thaulerus, Ferus, Blessed souls with Christ*: He esteems the *French* Nation to be not only an erroneous, but an *honourable part of the Church of Christ*, p. 10. Episcopal Divines have learned to distinguish between that great Antichrist and lesser Antichrists, between the Court of *Rome* and the Church of *Rome*, which he confounds. I dare not swear that the Pope is that great Antichrist, but I dare swear that I never had any design to bring Popery into *England*, I hope I never shall have, and that all genuine

Episcopal Divines may take the same Oath.

His third note of distinction, whereby to know an *English Grotian* is this, *They labour to prove the Church of Rome a true Church, because of their succession, and the Reformed Churches to be none, for want of that succession, Sect. 71.* This note is already answered. Elsewhere he presseth this point further thus; that *he would gladly know what Church hath power to make a new Canon, the observation whereof shall be essential to a Church or Pastor.* I answer, that he doth doubly mistake the question, which is not whether the Catholick Church can make new Essentials, but whether it can declare old Essentials. Not whether the Canons of the Universal Church of this Age have divine Authority, but whether they do oblige Christians in conscience, and whether it be not timorous presumption for a particular person or Church to slight the Belief or Practice of the Universal Church of all succeeding Ages.

His

His fourth note of *Grotians* is, that *they are for a visible head of the Universal Church, whether Pope or General Council.* They who are for the Headship of a General Council are no fit instruments for the introduction of the Popes tyrannical power. It seemeth he rejecteth the Authority of General Councils, either past or to come, as well as Popes: so dare not we. If under the name of the Universal Church he include the Triumphant Church, we know no head of the Universal Church but Christ. If he limit it to the Militant Church, we are as much against one single Monarch as he, we dislike all tyrannical power in the Church, as well as he: yet we quarrel with no man about the name of Head, or a Metaphorical expression. But if he think that Christ left the Catholick Church as the Ostrich doth her Eggs, in the Sand, without any care or provision for the governing thereof in future Ages, he erreth grossly. So the Catholick Church should be in a worse condition than any particular Church,

yea, than any Society in the World, like the Cyclops Cane where no man heard or heeded what another said. Particular Churches have Sovereign Princes and Synods to order them, but there never was an universal Monarch. And if he take away the Authority of General Councils, he leaveth no humane helps to preserve the Unity of the Universal Church: what is this but to leap over the backs of all second Causes? The first Council was of another mind, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, Act. 15. 28.* And so have all the Churches of the World from Christs time until this Age.

His fifth note of *Grotians*, *To deny the sufficiencie of Scripture in all things necessary to salvation*, might well have been spared, for we all maintain it as well as he; but he shuffles into the question such impertinent and confused generalities about *the peace of the Church*, and *Traditions*, as deserve no answer. The sufficiency of Scripture is not inconsistent either with prudential Government, or the necessary means

means of finding out the right sense of Scripture. When he expresseth himself more distinctly, he may expect a Categorical answer.

His last mark is, that *they will not be perswaded to joyn on any reasonable terms for the healing of our present divisions*. This dependeth upon his own interpretation, what he judgeth *to be reasonable terms*. We have seen his dexterity in making wounds, and would be glad to have experience of his skill in healing them. He complains only of *illegal Innovations*. Dare he stand to the ancient Laws? If he dare, the Controversie is ended. If he like not this, for we know their exceptions were against the Laws themselves, not against illegal Innovations; let them name those Laws which they except against, and put it to a fair trial, whether there be any thing in any of them, which is repugnant to the Laws of God, or of right reason. If they will but do this seriously without prejudice, the business is ended. I will make bold to go yet one step higher,

though our Laws be unblamable, yet if the things commanded be but of a middle or indifferent nature, we are ready to admit any terms of peace, which we can accept with a good conscience, so as we may neither swerve from the analogy of Faith, nor renounce the necessary principles of Government, nor desert the communion, and ancient and undoubted customs of the Universal Church. Such an accord would be too much loss both to you and us.

He would persuade us that there are two sorts of Episcopal Divines in *England*, the old and the new. And that *there is much more difference between the old and the new, than between the old and the Presbyterians, Sect. 67.* O confidence whither wilt thou? what is the power of prejudice, and pride? The contrary is as clear as the light; we maintain their old Liturgy, their old Ordinal, their old Articles, their old Canons, their old Laws, Practices, and præscriptions, their old Doctrine and Discipline against them. Then tell us no more of old Episcopal Divines

Divines, and new Episcopal Divines; we are old Episcopal Divines, one and all: out of his own words I condemn him; *The old sort of Episcopal Divines that received the putlick Doctrine of the Nation, contained in the 39. Articles, Homilies, &c. I wholly acquitted from my jealousies of this compliance, sect. 12.* If they be old Episcopal Divines, who maintain the Doctrine of the 39. Articles and Homilies, then we are all old Episcopal Divines. In acquitting all them he acquitteth all us. If he can shew any thing that I have written contrary to these, I retract it: if he cannot, let him retract his words. He might have taken notice of my submission of whatsoever I writ *to the Oecumenical essential Church, and to its Representative, a free general Council; and to the Church of England, or a National English Synod, to the determinations of all which, and each of them respectively, according to the distinct degrees of their Authority, I yield a conformity and compliance, or to the least and lowest of them an acquiescence.*

Pres.

Pref. to the Reply to Bish. Chalc. So far am I, and always have been from opposing the Church of *England* wittingly.

He maketh a shew as though he could make it appear that the *Grotian* design was the cause of all our Wars and changes in *England*: but it is but a copy of his countenance. How should the *Grotian* design be the cause of all our Wars, when our War began before *Grotius* himself began his design, or to write of the reconciliation of Protestants and Papists, which was in the years 1641, and 1642. But without all controversie, either the *Grotian* design was the cause of our Wars; or the design, and more than the bare design of his own Party. The World knows well enough, and I leave it to his own conscience to tell him whether of the two was the right Mother of the Child.

Though he fail in his proofs against Episcopal Divines: yet he produceth sundry other reasons to prove that there was such a Plot on foot to introduce
Popery

Popery into *England*, but they do not weigh so much as a Feather ; nor signify any thing more than this, how easily men believe those things which they wish. He saith, *Franciscus à Sancta Clara's* design and *Grotius* his design seem the very same, and their Religion and Church the same, Sect. 73. Nay certainly, (that is more than seemingly) their Religion and Church was not the same ; unless he mean the same Christian Religion, and in that sense his own Religion is the same with theirs, but in his sense they were not the same. This is begging of the question which he ought to prove, *Grotius* was not of the *French* Communion. And for their designs, the World is so full of feigned Plots and designs, that I do not believe that either of them had any design, except that general and pacificatory design, which he himself professeth and extolleth every where. I wish every mans Books had as much learning and ingenuity in them as *A Sancta Clara's* have. Yet if he conclude from hence, that I and he are of
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the same Communion, he doth me wrong. Judge Reader, how partial men are, to deny that liberty to another which they assume to themselves.

He proceedeth, *This A Sancta Clara is still the Queens Chaplain, &c. And we have reason to believe the Queen to be so moderate as to be of the same Religion.* Whether he be the Queens Chaplain or not, is more than I know. The Queen hath had many Servants of Mr. *Baxters* own Communion, who have had more influence upon her Counsels than ever *A Sancta Clara* had. He hath reason to believe that the Queen and he were of the same Religion: but no reason to prove that so seriously and so weakly, which all men acknowledge, that either the Queen or he had any hand in the pretended design of *Grotius* and his Followers, no man can believe.

From the Queen he passeth over to the King; what to do? to accuse him of Popery. He cannot prove it, nor all the World to help him. Yea, he
pro-

professeth openly that *he believeth no such thing*. Not only his Conference with the Marquess of Worcester, but his Life and Death, and that Golden Legacie which he left to his Son, do proclaim the contrary to all the World. What is his aim then? *To shew how far he was inclined to a reconciliation*. That is the duty of every good Christian. But did he prefer peace before truth? Had he any design to introduce Papal Tyranny into *England*? That is the crime whereof he accuseth those whom he nick-nameth *Grotians*. The Devil himself cannot justly object any such thing against him.

He cites *the Articles of the Spanish and French matches*; but is not able to cite one word out of them which maketh for his purpose. And this alone, that there is nothing in them for his purpose, is a convincing proof against him, that all his pretended design is but a dream. I may well call it his design, for it is the phantasm of his own brain, and never had any existence in the nature of things.

He

He mentions *the Kings Letter to the Pope, written in Spain.* If he himself had been there at that time, upon the same condition the King was at that time, he would have redeemed his liberty with writing three Letters to the Pope, such as that was, or else he had been much to be blamed. - But what is there in the Letter? Is there any thing of the *Grotian* design? No I warrant you. Observe how all his conjectural reasons make directly against himself. Perhaps the King calls the Pope *Most Holy Father*; a great crime indeed, to make such a civil address, which the common use of the World hath made necessary. He who will converse with a Fryer in a *Roman Catholick* Country, must do little less; and he that will write to the *Great Turk* must do more. Such compellations do not shew always what men are, but what they ought to be, or what they are, or would be esteemed.

Next he tells us of *the choice of Agents for Church and State.* Very trifles. Kings must chuse their Agents accord-

according to the exigence of their affairs. But if the qualifications of Agents did always demonstrate the resolutions of Princes, I could more easily prove King *Charles* a Presbyterian, than he a *Grotian*, and bring more instances for my self. I am confident he cannot instance in any one Agent for Church or State, that ever had his *Grotian* design; but I can instance in many who have had contrary and worse designs. I shall not stick to tell him with grief, that which hath been in a great part the cause of all our woes. In some Courts it hath been esteemed a singular policie to nourish two Parties, upon pretence that the one might balance the other, and the one watch over the other. But it proveth too often true that the one Party is disgusted, and ordinarily the weaker and worse Party doth countenance heterodox and seditious persons, to augment the number of their dependents, which evermore tendeth to manifest sedition. By this means the rents of the Church have been perpetuated and enlarged,
and

and Subjects have been debauched with destructive and seditious Principles, the evil influence whereof, we have felt to our cost.

He proceedeth to *the Residence of the Popes Nuncios in England*. It may be during all the Kings reign there were one Nuncio and his Proctor or Deputy, or two Nuncios at the most. And if we had never had them, it had been the better, not so much for any great hurt they did, but for that opportunity which his own peevish Party got from thence, to raise jealousies and Panick fears among the Rabble. Unless he could have told something that the Popes Nuncio did in *England* tending to that end which he pretends, he might as well have instanced in the King of *Morocco's* Ambassadour, and said that he came over to convert us to be *Turks*. I thought he would have produced the Popes Bull to his Nuncio to reconcile us to *Rome*; or at least have discovered some secret Cabal, or Conferences between him and those Episcopal Divines whom he accuseth.

He

He knoweth well there was no such thing, and therefore it were much better to be silent, than to urge so many things, and to fail in every one of them.

His next instance is in the Jesuits Colledge, which had been much better omitted for his credit. Did the King found the Colledge? No such thing. Was he a Benefactor to it? Nor that. Did he give the Jesuits a license of *Mortmain*, to purchase Lands for themselves to that use? Not so much. What did he then, did he know of the Jesuits and the Colledge, and connive at them and it? O no. So soon as ever it was discovered, it was suppressed. By the same equity he might accuse an innocent Prince of all the crimes that are committed in hugger mugger throughout his Kingdom, and make him Head even of the Presbyterian Rebellion.

The last of his odious instances hath less shew of truth in it than any of the rest, how vain or empty soever they have been, that is, *the illegal inno-*

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vations

vations in worship so resolvedly gradatim introduced. Perhaps he calls the execution of old Laws, Innovations, because they themselves had taken the boldness to disuse them. It were better to spare this charge, lest they get a round peal of their own Innovations rung out in their ears. Theirs are Innovations indeed.

To conclude, Doth he think that such disloyal and uncharitable insinuations as these, are salved by pretending that *he hath not the least desire to persuade men that he was a Papist*; or that he would not have other men to believe it: As if he should say, Here are violent presumptions indeed, that the King had Popish inclinations: yet my charity will not give me leave to believe it, other men may judge as they find cause, when all he saith doth not weigh one grain in the Scale of Reason. Our Case-Divinity will hardly excuse this from downright Calumny. But that is their only weapon, and their only strength, and Skill hath ever laid in idle and malicious suggestions.

CHAP. IV.

*This Plot weakly Fathered upon
Episcopal Divines.*

I Mused some while why he should rather father his imaginary design of reducing the Pope into *England* upon Episcopal Divines, than upon any other Divines. For in the first place this is certain, that both Presbyterian Divines, and Independent Divines, and Millenary Divines, and Anabaptistical Divines, and each sort of their Divines, (if any of them may be allowed that Title) have all of them, and every one of them contributed more to the reducing of the Pope into *England*, than Episcopal Divines ever did, or were likely ever to do. Men do naturally preferr *Antiquity* in Religion before *Novelty*, Order and Uniformity before Confusion, Comeliness and Decencie before sordid Uncleanliness, Reverence and Devotion before Prophaneness and over-much Sawciness

and familiarity with God; Christian Charity before Unchristian Censures; Constancy before Fickleness and frequent Changes, they love Monuments of Piety, and delight not in seeing them defaced and demolished; they are for Memorials of ancient Truth, for an outward splendor of Religion, for helps of Mortification, for adjuncts of Devotion; all which our late Innovators have quite taken away. Nature it self doth teach us that God is to be adored with our Bodies as well as with our Spirits. What comfort can men have to go to the Church, where they shall scarcely see one act of corporeal devotion done to God in their whole lives? These are the true Reasons why the *Roman* Emissaries do gain ground daily upon them, why so many apostate from them. If the Pope have a fairer game in *England*, he is beholden to them for it, not to the Magistrates Sword, much less to Episcopal Divines.

Some may perhaps urge that this advantage is accidental to Episcopal Divines,

vines; therefore I propose a second consideration; That Episcopal Divines cannot be the Popes Stalking Horses, nor promoters of the Papacy, without deserting their principles about Episcopacy. Episcopal rights and Papal claims are inconsistent. This appeared evidently in the Council of *Trent*, in the debating of that great Controversie about Episcopal Right, whether it be divine or humane. Thus much the *Spanish*, *Polonian*, and *Hungarian* Divines saw well enough. And consulting seriously about the Reformation of the Church, they could find no better ground to build so noble a Fabrick upon than the Divine Right of Bishops, as the Archbishop of *Granato* well observed. *Hist. Conc. Trid. l. 7. p. 588.*

Father *Lainer* the General of the Jesuits saw this well enough, and concluded, *that it is a meer contradiction to say the Pope is head of the Church, and the Government Monarchical; and then say, that there is a power or jurisdiction in the Church not derived*

from him, but received from others, that is, from Christ. *Hist. Conc. Trid. ibid.*

The Popes Legats themselves found this out at last, when it was almost too late, l. 7. p. 609. *Octob. 19.* When the question was set on foot in the beginning, the Legats thought that the aim was only to make great the Authority of Bishops, and to give them more reputation. But before the second Congregation was ended they perceived very late by the voices given and reasons used, of what importance and consequence it was. For it did imply, that the Keys were not given to St. Peter only, that the Council was above the Pope, and the Bishop equal to him, who had nothing left but a preheminence above others, &c. the dignity of Cardinals was quite taken away, and the Papal Court reduced to nothing.

But before the Papalins discovered this, the Party bent for a serious Reformation, was grown numerous and potent in the Council. The *Divine Right* of Bishops was inserted into the
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Anathematisms. Fifty nine of the prime Fathers voted for it, besides all those whom either an Epidemical or a Politick Catarrh detained at home; notwithstanding all the dissuasions and perswasions, threatnings and promises, and other Artifices used by the Papalins, whereof the chiefest, and that which saved the Court of *Rome* from utter ruine at that time, was to represent to the *Italian* Bishops, whose number was double to all the rest of the Christian World in that Council, (a very unequal composition) how much they were concerned in the preservation of the *Papacy*, as being the only honour which the *Italian* Nation had above all other Nations. This I urge to shew that Episcopal Divines cannot be *Papalins* without betraying their own Principles. The very name of Episcopal Divines renders this design less probable.

Thirdly, In styling them *Episcopal* Divines he doth tacitely accuse himself to be an *Anti-Episcopal*, or at least no Episcopal Divine. What odious

consequences do flow from thence, and how contrary it is to the title of *Catholick*, which he gives himself in the *Frontispiece* of this Treatise, I had much rather he should observe himself, than I collect. *Catholick* and *Anti-Episcopal* are contradictory terms.

From Christs time till this day there was never any one *Catholick* in the Eastern, Southern, or Northern Churches, who professed himself to be *Anti-Episcopal*, but only such as were cast out for *Hereticks* or *Schismaticks*. The same I say of the *Western* Church for the first 1500. years. Let him shew me but one formed Church without a Bishop, or the name of one *Lay Presbyter* in all that time, who exercised or challenged Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, or the power of the Keys in the Church before *Calvins* return to *Geneva* in the year 1538. after he had subscribed the *Augustine* Confession and *Apology* for Bishops, and I will give him leave to be as *Anti-Episcopal* as he will. I will shew him the proper and particular names of *Apostles*, *Evangelists*, *Bishops*,

shops, Presbyters, Deacons, in Scriptures, in Councils, in Fathers, in Histories; if he cannot name one particular *Lay-Elder*, it is because there never was any such thing in *rerum natura*, for 1500 years after Christ.

I will add one thing more for the honour of Episcopal Government, that all the first Reformers did approve it, and desired it, if they could have had it. Second Reformations are commonly like Metal upon Metal, which is false Heraldry. After the *Waldenses*, the first Reformers, were the *Bohemian Brethren*: and both these were careful to retain Episcopacy. Take their own Testimony in the Preface of their Book called, *Ratio, Disciplina, Ordinisque Ecclesiastici in unitate fratrum Bohemorum*, lately translated out of *Bohemian* into *Latine*, and published by themselves. And whereas the said *Waldenses* did affirm that they had lawful Bishops, and a lawful uninterrupted succession from the Apostles unto this day, they created three of our Ministers Bishops solemnly, and conferred upon

upon them power to Ordain Ministers. From that time this Order is continued in all their Churches until this day.

The next Reformers were the *Lutherans*. These retained Bishops name and thing, in the Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and the thing under another name of Superintendents in *Germany*. The Confession of *Saxony* is subscribed by seventeen Superintendents. *Harm. Conf. Sect. 19. p. 290.* The *Suevick* Confession complaineth of great wrong done to their Churches, *as if they did seek to reduce the power of Ecclesiastical Prelates to nothing. Sect. 11. p. 65.* And in Chap. 33. *Of the Rights of the Civil Magistrate*, they declare most plainly for the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Bishops. There cannot be a more luculent Testimony for the *Lutherans* approbation of Bishops, than the *Augustine* Confession it self, *cap. 7. de Potest. Eccles.* *It is not now sought that the Government be taken away from Bishops: but this one thing is desired, that they will suffer the Gospel to be purely taught, and release*

lease some few observances which cannot be kept without sin. And the Apologie for the same Confession, *Cap. de numero & usu Sacrament.* This our will shall excuse us both before God and all the World, that it may not be imputed to us that the Authority of Bishops was taken away by our means.

I need not say any thing of the *Britannick* Churches. He knoweth well they never wanted Bishops from their first Conversion until these late Tumults, wherein our Native Country was purpled with the Blood of *English* Subjects, to take them away by force and Rebellion.

The next Reformation was the *Zuinglian* or *Helvetian* in *Switzerland*, wherein as they erected no new Bishopricks, so they pulled down no old ones. There was a kind of necessity laid upon them to want Bishops in their own Territories: because the Bishop of *Constance*, under whose Jurisdiction they were, was of another communion, and lived out of their Territories. But they would gladly have had him to have
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continued their Bishop still. They made their addresses to him, they courted him, they besought him to joyn with them, or but to tolerate them. For proof of this, I produce that famous Letter written by *Zuinglius* himself, and ten others of their principal Reformers, to the same Bishop of *Constance*, recorded in the Works of *Zuinglius*, in all humility and observance beseeching him to *favour and help forward their beginnings, as an excellent work, and worthy of a Bishop*. They call him *Father, Renowned Prelate, Bishop*. They implore *his clemency, wisdom, learning, that he would be the first fruits of the German Bishops, to favour true Christianity springing up again*. They beseech him *by the common Christ, by one Christian Liberty, by that Fatherly affection which he did owe unto them, by whatsoever was divine and humane, to look graciously upon them; or if he would not grant their desires, to connive at them; so he should make his Family yet more illustrious, and have the perpetual tribute*
of

of their praises; so he would but shew himself a Father, and grant the requests of his obedient sons. They conclude, God Almighty long preserve your Excellency.

The last Reformation of those which he approveth, was that of *Calvin*. How farr *Calvin* and his Party were Episcopal or Anti-Episcopal in their desires, let their own testimonies bear witness. First *Calvin* himself acknowledgeth that he subscribed the *Augustine Confession* formerly mentioned, or the Apology for it, both which are for Bishops. And in his 190. Epistle to the King of *Polonia*, he representeth Episcopal Government as fittest for Monarchies; where having shewed the regiment of the Primitive Church by Patriarchs, Primats, Bishops, in these words: *Indeed the ancient Church instituted Patriarchs, and gave certain Primacies to particular Provinces, that Bishops might remain bound one to another by this bond of Concord.* He proceedeth thus, *As if at this day one Arch-bishop should be over the illu-*
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strious Kingdom of Polonia, &c. And farther, there should be a Bishop in each City or Province, to attend peculiarly to the preservation of Order, as nature it self doth dictate to us, that in every Colledge one ought to be chosen, upon whom the principal care of the Colledge should rest. And in his Institutions having described at large the Regiment of the Primitive Church, and shewed the end of Arch-bishops, and the constitution of Patriarchs, he concludeth, that some called this kind of Government an Hierarchy, by a name improper, or at least not used in the Scripture. But if we pass by the name and look upon the thing it self, we shall find that the ancient Bishops did go about to devise no other form of governing the Church, than that which God hath prescribed in his Word, lib. 4. Inst. c. 4. Sect. 4.

And in his Answer to Cardinal Sadolet, on the behalf of the City of Geneva, as it is cited by Archbishop Bancroft, for I cannot procure the first Edition at present, and in the later Editions they have made a shift to purge it out.

out. *Talem nobis Hierarchiam, &c.* If they make tender of such an Hierarchie to us, wherein Bishops may retain their eminence, so as they refuse not to be under Christ, and have their dependence upon him as their only Head, and refer themselves to him, and observe such a brotherly society among themselves, and be bound together with no other bond but the truth, then I confess that they deserve all sorts of curses or anathemas, if there be any who do not observe it with reverence and the highest obedience.

Lay all these together, If the Law of Nature, which is divine Law, written in our hearts by God himself, and needing no other promulgation, do dictate that in every Society there ought to be one upon whom the principal care of the Society should rest. If the ancient Bishops devised no other form of governing the Church by Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, than that which God had prescribed in his Word; If they deserve the severest curses and anathemas, who shall not regard such
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an Hierarchy with reverence and obedience, where Christ is acknowledged to be the only Head of his Church, where the Pastors are freed from all Oaths and Obligations to the Bishop of *Rome*, let him be his own Judge what they deserve, who have destroyed the Church of *England*.

Before *Calvin*, *Farelus* offered the Bishop of *Geneva* terms to retain his Bishoprick, if he would give way to the Reformation. *Beza* his Successor was not for the divine Right of Bishops in expresse terms by the Evangelical Law: But he was for the precedencie of one Clergy man above the rest by the Law of Nature.

From *Geneva* let us pass over into *France*, where we find *Monsieur Moulins* as high or higher than any of them, in his third Epistle to the Bishop of *Winchester*. *I am not so brazen-faced as to give sentence against those lights of the ancient Church*, Ignatius, Polycarpus, Cyprian, Augustine, Chrysostom, Basil, *the two Gregories Nissem* *Nazianzene Bishops*, *as against men*
wrong-

wrongfully created, or as usurpers of an unlawful Office. The venerable antiquity of those Primitive Ages shall always weigh more with me than any mans new-fangled Institution. And a little after, in the same Epistle, I spake with honour of the Bishops of England, I derived the Episcopal dignity from the very cradle of the Church, I condemned Aerius, I affirmed that St. James was Bishop of Hierusalem, from whom the succession of the Bishops of that City was derived by a long row of Bishops.

Mr. Blondel in his needfuls Apology for St. Hierome made a very necessary Apology for himself, and sent it; to Mr. Rivet to be added as an Appendix to his Book in the Impression of it, by whose neglect it was omitted. And now having mentioned Doctor Rivet; I shall make bold to add, that he himself did intreat a Noble Earl, yet living, to procure him a dignity or Prebend in England, as his Brother Mouline and Vossius had. The Earl answered, that he could not hold any such place in England without subscribing to Episcopacy,

copacy, and the Doctrine and Discipline of the English Church. And he replied, that he was most ready to subscribe to them both with his hand and heart.

I conclude that all Divines throughout the Christian World, who maintain a necessity of Holy Orders, ever were and still are Episcopal Divines: except some weaker and wilful Brethren, who for their Antiquity are but of Yesterday, and for their Universality come much short of the very Donatists in *Africk*, condemned by all moderate and rational persons of their own Communion. And therefore Mr. *Baxter* might have done better to have given his pretended Designers, a lower and more distinctive name than that of Episcopal Divines.

It will not help him at all which he saith, pag. 21. *It is not all Episcopal Divines which I suspected of a compliance with Grotius and Cassander, no not all of the later strein, &c. I extended it to none of the new Episcopal Party, but such as I there described.*

His

His distinction of Episcopal Divines into Old and New, is but a Chimera of his own brain, without any ground; neither doth he bring one grain of reason to make it good. And by his plain Confession here, it appeareth that this great design is but his own *suspicion*. To accuse men of a design to introduce the Pope into *England*, meerly upon suspicion, is a liberty, or rather license, to be abhorred of all conscionable Christians.

Yet of the old Episcopal Divines he nameth many, *Bishop Jewel, Pilkington, Hall, Carlton, Davenant, Morton, Abbot, Usher, Potter, Downham, Grindal, Parker, Hooper, Farrar, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and forty more Bishops here. p. 103.* as if so many names blended together confusedly in an heap as an *hotchpotch*, were able like a *Measles* head to transform reasonable men into stocks and stones. If he had made his forty up an hundred, he might have found instances enough to have made it good, and sundry of them no way inferior to any whom he nameth, and su-

perieur to many. In commemorating some, and pretermittting others, he sheweth sometimes want of judgement, always respect of persons. What his description was of New Episcopal Divines, I do not know, (having never seen any Treatise of his, but this of the *Grosian* Religion; neither should I have meddled with that, if he had not brought me publickly upon the Stage,) neither do I much regard. But howsoever he describeth them he instanceth in no man but my self, either because he is not able to name any, or because he thinks it easiest to leap over the hedge where it is lowest. Have I not great reason to thank him for being so mindful of me in my absence.

As for my part I profess ingeniously before God and Man, I never knew of any such design, I am confident there never was any such design, and I am certain that I neither had nor could have an hand in any such design, either for *Italian Popery*, or *French Popery*, or any *Popery*, unless he call the Doctrine and Discipline of the Primitive

tive Church Popery, unless our Holy Orders and Liturgy and Articles be Popery. Other Popery he shall never be able to prove against me, nor I hope against any true Episcopal Divines. His design, like the *phenix*, is much talked of by himself, but never was seen.

I know as little of any such distinction between Old and New Episcopal Divines. All the World seeth evidently, that all the material differences which we have with them, are about those Holy Orders, and that Liturgy, and those Articles, and those Rites, which we received from those Old Episcopal Divines.

*Non tellus cimbam, tellurem cimla
reliquit.*

We have not left our Predecessors, but They have left both us and our Predecessors, and the Church of *England*. And it fareth with Mr. *Baxter* as it doth with new Sailers, who by the deception of their sight, suppose that the

Land leaveth them, *terraque, urbefque recedunt*, when in truth it is they themselves that leave the Land. In a word, his supposed design and his pretended distinction, are meer fantasies, which never had any being in the nature of things. Where did these designers ever meet together to contrive their Plot? They are never likely to do any great actions, who want sinews to knit them together. When or where had ever any of them any intercourse or correspondence with *Rome*, or any that belonged to *Rome*, by word or writing? It was a senseless silly Plot to design the Introduction of the Pope into *England* without his own knowledge or consent, upon terms never accorded, never so much as treated upon. Thus have we seen melancholick persons out of a strong fantasie, imagine that they see Ships and Minotaures in the Clouds. The proofs of such accusations as this is, ought to have been clearer than the Noon-day light, not ungrounded or ill grounded jealousies and suspicions of credulous and partial persons.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

*This Plot was as weakly fathered upon
the Bishop of Derry.*

ANd as he erred in fathering his imaginary Plot upon Episcopal Divines in general, so he made an ill choice of *me* the meanest of those Episcopal Divines for his only instance, who have only read so much of *Grotius*, as to enable me to judge that Mr. *Baxter* doth him wrong, I hope unwittingly. If ever I should attempt the reconciling of Controversies among Christians, it must be in another way then *Grotius* taketh, I mean more Scholastical.

I will confess that freely which Mr. *Baxter* neither doth know, nor ever could know but by me, that about thirty years since, when my body was stronger, and my wits fresher, when I had some Books and Notes of mine own, and could have had what supply soever I desired, and opportunity to confer with whomsoever I pleased, I had then a design indeed

to do my weak endeavour to disabuse the *Christian* World, by the right stating and distinguishing of Controversies between the Church of *Rome* and us. And to shew :

First, How many of them are meer *Legomachies*, or contentions about words without any just ground.

Secondly, How many of them are *Scholastical* subtleties, whereof ordinary Christians are not capable, and consequently no points of Faith.

Thirdly, How many of them are not the Controversies of the *Churches*, but of particular Persons or Parties in those Churches, as well *Protestants* against *Protestants*, and *Roman Catholicks* against *Roman Catholicks*, as *Protestants* against *Roman Catholicks*. Those Controversies which each Church doth tolerate within it self, ought not to be any cause of Schism between the Churches.

Fourthly, How many of our Controversies are about Rites and Ceremonies, and things indifferent in their own nature, in the use of which every particular Church under the Universal

sal Church hath free liberty in it self,
and dominion over its own Sons.

When all these empty Names and Titles of Controversies are wiped out of the Roll, the true Controversies between us may be quickly mustered, and will not be found, upon a serious enquiry, to be either so exclusive of salvation to those who err invincibly, and hold the truth implicitly in the preparation of their minds, nor altogether so irreconcilable as some persons have imagined. The two dangerous extremes are to clip away something from saving Truth, whereof I do not find the Church of *Rome* to have been guilty; and to obtrude erroneous or (at the best) probable opinions for *Articles* of Faith, whereof I find many in the Church of *Rome* to have been most guilty.

Next to these are the practical abuses of the Court of *Rome*. These were my thoughts in my younger days, which age and experience hath rather confirmed and radicated in me, than altered; which if they had been known, I deserved

served rather to have been cherished and encouraged, than to be branded by any man as a Factor for the Pope.

Truly Mr. *Baxter* could hardly have fixed upon a Subject more improper for such a charge. When I was commanded to preach to our Northern Synod, where every one designed to discharge that duty, chuseth some controverſie between the Church of *Rome* and us, my Subject was the Popes unlawful Usurpation of Jurisdiction over the *Britannick* Churches. When I disputed in *Cambridge* for the Degree of Doctor, my Thesis was taken out of *Nilus*, that the Papacy (as it was challenged and usurped in many places, and as it had been sometimes usurped in our Native Country,) was either the procreant or conservant cause, or both procreant and conservant cause of all the greater *Ecclesiastical* Controversies in the Christian World. When our late King *Charles* (of blessed memory) was in *Spain*, and Religion in *England* seemed to our Country people (though without any ground) to be placed in
equi-

æquilibrio, or reduced to a measuring cast; I adventured with more zeal than discretion, to give two of their Roman Champions in our Northern parts, Mr. *Hungate* a Jesuite, and Mr. *Houghton* a secular Priest, one after another, two meetings at *North-Allerton*, and came off without any dishonour to the Church of *England*, and stopped the Carreir of the Romish Emislaries at that time in those parts.

When I was last in *Ireland* and the *Romanists* had wrested some part of the power of the Sword into their hands, they prosecuted no *English* Protestant more than *my self*, and never left untill they had thrust me out of the Kingdom, as conceiving me to be a great impediment to them in their making of Profelytes. It was but an ill requital, if I had been one of their Factors. Since I came into exile these sixteen years, where have my weak endeavours ever been wanting to the Church of *England*? who hath had more Disputes with their Seculars and Regulars of all sorts, *French, Italian,*
Dutch,

Dutch, English, in Word, in Writing, to maintain the honour of the *English Church*? And after all this am I introduced as a Factor for Popery, because I am not a *Protestant* out of my wits; or because my assertions of known Truth are not agreeable to the gust of Innovators? *Blessed are we when men revile us and persecute us, and say all manner of evil against us falsely for Christs sake, for great is our reward in heaven.*

But doth he think in earnest, that my way of reconciliation is the ready way to introduce the Papal tyranny into *England*? Nay, directly on the contrary, it is the ready way to exclude the *Papal tyranny* out of *England* for ever; and to acquit us for evermore from all the Extortions and Usurpations of the *Roman Court*, and to free us from all their Emissaries, who now make a prey of such as are unsettled among us; by the means of doubtful, and (give me leave to speak my mind freely) impertinent Disputations. And this I am ready to make good against
any

any Innovator of either side who shall oppose it.

This is hard measure to be offered to me, from him who professeth himself to be *so great a lover of the Unity of the Church*, p.6. which is but his duty if it be true, as I hope it is. But let him take heed that his love of Unity prove not to be self-love, which insinuateth it self strangely into the most holy actions and designs. All men could be contented to have others united to themselves, and to chop off or stretch out the Religion of their Brethren, as *Procrustes* did his Guests, according to the measure of his own Bed. I doubt not but he would be well pleased to have Independency stretched up to an ordained Ministry, (as he calleth it,) and *Episcopacy* let down to a Presbyterian *parity*, or rather to an empty shew of *equality*. For I never yet observed but one or two single popular Presbyters ruled the whole Consistory; and had more absolute Arbitrary power than ever any Bishop pretended unto. If this be all his love
and

and desire of Unity, to have Antiquity, Universality, and the perpetual Regiment of the *Church* to be levelled and moduled according to private fantasies, it is meer self-love, no love of Unity. But I hope better, though I fear worse.

If he dare refer all differences between us to be tried by the publick *Standard*, we shall quickly see whether he or I follow Peace and Unity with swifter paces. I offer him two *Standards* to be tried by.

First, the *Doctrine of the Church of England*, set down by those old *Episcopal* Divines whom he pretendeth to be more *propitious* to him than to me. If he submit to this *Standard*, all differences between him and me are at an end. And then to what purpose hath so much plundering, and so much effusion of Christian blood been? unless it be to shake the dregs to the top of the Urinal.

But if he like not this *Standard* (as I much fear he will not) I offer him another; that is, the *Pattern of the Primitive Church*, both for Doctrine
and

and Discipline. But it may be he will dislike this more, and when all is done admit no *standard* but the Scripture. I am ready to joyn with him in this also. But if he and I differ about the sense of the Scripture, (all men acknowledge that the Scripture consisteth not in the words but in the sense,) how shall we be tried what is the sense, by the judgement of the Church of England, that is the Standard of the place, or by the pattern of the primitive Church, that is the original Standard according to which the local Standard was made? If he refuse both these, let him not say that he will be tryed by the Scripture, but he will be tryed by himself, that is to say, he himself will and can judge better what is the true sense of the Scripture, than either his national Church, or the primitive and universal Church. This is just as if a man who brings his commodities to a market to be sold, should refuse to have them weighed or measured by any Standard local or original, and desire to be tried by the Law of the Land, according to
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the judgement of the by-standers. Not that the Law of the Land is any thing more favourable to him than the Standard, but only to decline a present sentence, and out of hope to advantage himself by the simplicity of his Judges.

Yet Mr. *Baxter* acquits me, that *I am no Papist in his judgement, though he dare not follow me*, pag. 22. What soever I am, this is sure enough he hath no authority to be my Judge, or to publish his ill grounded jealousies and suspicions to the world in Print to my prejudice. Although he did condemn me: yet I praise God my conscience doth acquit me, and I am able to vindicate my self. But if *he take me to be no Papist*, why doth he make me to be one of the Popes Factors or stalking horses, and to have an expresse design to introduce him into England. He himself and an hundred more of his confraternity, are more likely to turn the Popes Factors than I am. I have given good proof that I am no reed shaken with the wind. My conscience would not give me leave to serve the times as
many

many others did. They have had their reward.

He bringeth four reasons in favour of me why he taketh me to be no Papist. I could add fourscore reasons more if it were needful. First, because *I disown the fellowship of that party more than Grotius did.* pag. 23.

It is well that he will give me leave to know mine own heart better than himself. *Secondly*, because *I give them no more than some reconcileable members of the Greek Church would give them.* And why some members? I know no members of the *Greek Church* that give them either more or less than I do. But my ground is not the authority of the *Greek Church*, but the Authority of the Primitive Fathers and general Councils, which are the representative Body of the Universal Church. *Thirdly*, because *I disown their Council of Trent, and their last 400. years determinations.* Is not this enough in his judgement to acquit me from all suspicion of *Popery*? Erroneous opinions whilst they are not

publickly determined, nor a necessity of compliance imposed upon other men, are no necessary causes of *Schisme*. To wane their *last 400. years determinations* is implicitly to renounce all the necessary causes of this great *Schisme*. And to rest satisfied with their old Patriarchal power and dignity and Primacy of order, (which is another part of my proposition,) is to quit the Modern Papacy both name and thing. And when that is done I do not make these the terms of Peace and Unity, as he doth tax me injuriously enough, (It is not for private Persons to prescribe terms of publick accommodations,) but only an introduction and way to an accommodation. My words are expressly these in the conclusion of my answer to *Monsieur Militiere*, *If you could be contented to wave your last 400. years determinations, or if you liked them for your selves, yet not to obtrude them upon other Churches; If you could rest satisfied with your old Patriarchal power and your Principium unitatis,*

a primacy of order, much good might be expected from free Councils and conferences of moderate Persons. What is here more than is confessed by himself, that *if the Papists will reform what the Bishop requires them to reform, it will undoubtedly make way for nearer Concord.* p. 28. I would know where my Papistry lieth in these words more than his. They may be guilty of other errours which I disown as well as their last 400. years determinations; and yet those errours before they were obtruded upon other Churches, be no sufficient cause of a separation. But what I own or disown, he must learn from my self, not suppose it, or suspect it upon his own head.

His last reason why he forbearth to censure me as a Papist is my *two knocking arguments* as he stileth them against the Papal Church. But if he had weighed those two arguments as he ought, he should have forbore to censure me as he doth, for one that had a design to reconcile the Church of England to the Pope. But I will help

Mr. *Baxter* to understand my meaning better. I meddle not with the reconciliation of opinions in any place by him cited, but only with the reconciliation of Persons, that Christians might joyn together in the same publick devotions and service of Christ. And the terms which I proposed were not these, nor positively defined or determined, but only represented by way of query to all moderate Christians, in the conclusion of my just Vindication, in these words, *I determine nothing but only crave leave to propose a question to all moderate Christians who love the peace of the Church, and long for the reunion thereof. In the first place if the Bishop of Rome were reduced from his universality of Sovereign Jurisdiction jure Divino, to his principium unitatis, and his Court regulated by the Canons of the Fathers, which was the sense of the Councils of Constance and Basle, and is desired by many Roman Catholicks as well as we. Secondly if the Creed or necessary points of faith were reduced*

to what they were in the time of the four first Oecumenical Councils, according to the decree of the third general Council. (Who dare say that the faith of the primitive Fathers was insufficient?) Admitting no additional Articles, but only necessary explications; And those to be made by the Authority of a general Council or one so general as can be convoked. And lastly supposing that some things from whence offences have either been given or taken, which whether right or wrong do not weigh half so much as the unity of Christians, were put out of the Divine offices, which would not be refused if animosities were taken away and charity restored; I say in case these three things were accorded, which seem very reasonable demands, whether Christians might not live in an holy Communion, and come in the same publick worship of God, free from all Schismatical separation of themselves one from another, notwithstanding diversities of opinions, which prevail even among the members of the same particular

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Churches,

Churches, both with them and us.

Yet now though I cannot grant it, yet I am willing to suppose that I intended not only a reconciliation of mens minds, but of their opinions also; and that those conditions which he mentioned had been my only terms of peace and concord, let us see what exceptions *Mr. Baxter* is able to bring against them.

CHAP. VI.

Mr. Baxters exceptions answered.

HE saith, *he cannot consent that these which I grant should be made the terms of union.* pag. 25. What then? Suppose I did name improper terms of pacification, not only in *Mr. Baxters* judgement, which I ought not altogether to depend upon, but in very deed. Is there no remedy but I must needs be the Popes Stalking Horse
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presently; and have a design to reconcile *England* to him. This is over severe. My design is rather to reconcile the Pope and his party to the Church of *England*, than the Church of *England* to the Pope. He may make use of my way if it like him. Much good may it do him. If not he ought to thank me for my good will, and propose a better expedient himself if he can. But I must tell him before hand that if it be a general one, like those which he hath hitherto proposed, it will signify nothing. Observe Reader how he is every way mistaken; I make demands and he calls them grants or concessions; I propose some terms as preparatory to a treaty and he calls them terms of peace. He saith *he cannot consent* to these terms, and yet he hath consented to them already, that *if they would reform what the Bishop requires them to reform, it will undoubtedly make way for nearer concord*. To make them adæquate terms, or conclusive Articles of Peace was never any part of my meaning.

All the exceptions which he bringeth against my way, are taken out of my answer to *Monsieur Militier*. I have seen some silly exceptions against it from a Jesuit, and have answered them, but he is the first Protestant that I have met with, who doth disapprove it. If the efficacy or influence of it upon him be different from what it is upon others, I cannot help it. Books have their success according to the prejudice or qualifications of their Readers. On this side the seas it hath been more happy, to confirm many, to convert some, (and particularly the Transcriber of the Copy which was brought to the Press, who was then one of their Profelytes,) to irritate no Man but the common Adversaries, who vented their spleen against it weekly in their Pulpits, as thinking that the easiest way of confutation. Thus one sucks honey, and another poison out of the same flower. He pretendeth that the old Episcopal Divines are of his party, some of them have approved it, and thanked me for it. If they be not
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of his party, I hope he will not suspect them at *Geneva* as Factors for Popery. They have allowed it, and translated it into French, and Printed it, without any fear of introducing Popery into their City by it. God forbid that we should esteem the practice of the Primitive times to be Popish. They who admit that for a conclusion need not wonder if the more rational persons turn Apostates. But it has ever been the trade of this proud and envious race of men to fasten an hated name upon every thing they understand not. And it is to be feared this great Divine may in time write a Book to prove Greek the Language of the Beast; and he may as reasonably do it, as charge me with Popery only because I pretend to more knowledge in Antiquity than he knows himself to be guilty of. His first particular Exception is this, *If when he excludeth Universality of Jurisdiction by Christs institution he intend to grant them (which yet I know not) an Universality of Jurisdiction by humane institution as agreement, then*
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*it would be but to set up an humane
 Papery instead of a pretended Divine.
 But this I charge not on him as his
 judgement, though some will think it
 intimated. p. 25. If he do not charge
 it on me, then why doth he publish his
 own or other mens thoughts in Print to
 my disadvantage. I know not how to
 acquit the Printing of groundless jea-
 lousies and suspicions of innocent Per-
 sons from downright calumny. Espe-
 cially suspicions of such things which
 the Persons suspected had publickly dis-
 claimed in Print, long before any such
 suspicion was broached. These are my
 very words in my replication to the
 Bishop of Chalcedon, p. 249. It were
 a hard condition to put me to prove
 against my conscience, that the Univer-
 sal Regency of the Pope is of humane
 right, who do absolutely deny both
 his Divine right and humane right;
 And in my Schismegarded, p. 15. I
 have made it evident that the Popes
 Authority which he did sometime exer-
 cise in England before the Reformation,
 when they permitted him, and which
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he would have exercised always de futuro, if he could have had his own will, was a meer usurpation and innovation. If I deny both the Popes divine right and humane right to Sovereign Jurisdiction, and regulate his powers by the Canons of the Church ; If I make the Papacy a meer usurpation and innovation, he hath no need to fear my setting up of an humane Popery : But I have just cause to require reparation of him. So his first exception is a false groundless suspicion.

But doth he make no difference indeed between a Divine Papacy and an Humane Papacy ? So it seemeth by his words. If the Pope do hold a Sovereign power in the Church by divine institution, then whatsoever he doth though he draw millions of Souls to Hell after him, yet it is not in the power of a general council to call him to an account, or to depose him, or to reform him. But if his right be only humane all this may justly be done and hath been done. If he have a Sovereignty by divine right he may give his *non obstantes*

obstantes to the Canons of the Fathers at his pleasure; then all power in the Church is derived from him: But if he hold the Papacy not from Heaven but from men, then other Bishops do not derive their power from him singly, but he from them jointly, then he is stinted and limited by their Canons, and cannot dispense with them, further than the Church is pleased to confer a dispensative power upon him, within the bounds of his own Patriarchate. Against divine right there is no prescription, but against humane right men may lawfully challenge their ancient liberties, and immunities by prescription. A Papacy by divine right is unchangeable, but a Papacy by humane right is alterable, both for person and place and power. So an humane Papacy if it grow burthensom is remediable; But a pretended divine Papacy when and where and whilst it is acknowledged, is irremediable. So much a pretended divine Papacy is worse than an humane.

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His second exception follows, *But that St. Peter hath a certain fixed Chair, to which a primacy of order is annexed, and an headship of unity, is not a truth, and therefore not a principle necessary to heal the Church.*

Whether it be a truth or no, is not much material. We have no Controversie with the Church of *Rome* about a Primacy of order, but about a Supremacy of Power. I shall declare my sense in four conclusions. First that *St. Peter* had a fixed Chair at *Antioch*, and after that at *Rome*, is a truth which no man, who giveth any credit to the ancient Fathers and councils and Historiographers of the Church, can either deny or well doubt of.

Secondly, that *St. Peter* had a Primacy of order among the Apostles, is the unanimous voice of the primitive Church, not to be contradicted by me, which the Church of England and those old Episcopal Divines, whom he pretendeth to honour so much, did never oppose. — The learned Bishop of *Winchester* acknowledgeth as much,
not

not only in his own name, but in the name of the Church and King of *England*, both King and Church knowing it, and approving it. *Resp. ad Apol. Bellar. cap. 1.* Neither is it questioned among us whether *st. Peter* had a Primacy, but what that Primacy was, and and whether it were such an one as the Pope doth now challenge to himself, and you challenge to the Pope. But the King doth not deny *Peter* to have been the prime and Prince of the Apostles. He who should trouble himself and others to oppugn such a received innocent truth, seemeth to me to have more leisure than judgement. But on the other side it is as undoubtedly true, and confessed by the prime Romanists themselves, that *St. Peter* had no supremacy or superiority of power and single Jurisdiction over any other Apostle. To this purpose I have laid down these four grounds in my *Book of Schisme Garded*, pag. 27. First, that each Apostle had the same power by virtue of *Christs Commission*. Secondly, that *St. Peter* never exercised

cised a single Jurisdiction over the rest of the Apostles. Thirdly, that St. *Peter* had not his Commission granted to him and his Successours as any ordinary Pastor, and the rest of the Apostles as Delegates for term of life. Fourthly, that during the History of the Acts of the Apostles, the Sovereignty of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction rested not in any single Apostle, but in the Apostolical Colledge. Hitherto there is no cause of controversie between him and me, or between any persons of judgement and ingenuity.

My third assertion is that some Fathers and Schoolmen, who were no sworn vassals to the Roman Bishop do affirm, that this Primacy of order is fixed to the Chair of St. *Peter*, and his Successours for ever. As for instance *Gerson* for a Schoolman that learned Chancellour of *Paris*, who sided with the council against the Pope, and left his enmity to the innovations of the Court of *Rome* as an hereditary legacy to the School of *Sorbone*. *Anseribilia non est usque ad consummationem seculi*

seculi vicarius sponsus Ecclesie. The vicarial spouse of the Church (this was the language of that Age, whereby he meaneth not the person of any particular Pope, but the Office of the Papacy,) ought not to be taken away untill the end of the World. And among the Fathers I instance in St. Cyprian, whose publick opposition to Pope Stephen is well known, who seemeth not to dissent from it; In his Epistle to Antonianus he calls the See of Rome the place and Chair of Peter. Ep. 52. And in his 55. Epistle to Cornelius, They dare sail and carry Letters from Schismatical and profane persons to the Chair of Peter, and the principal Church from whence sacerdotal unity did spring. And in his *De unitate Ecclesie*, Although he give equal power to all his Apostles after his Resurrection, &c. Yet to manifest an unity he constituted one Chair, and by his own authority disposed the original of that unity beginning from one. And a little after, The Primacy is given to Peter, to demonstrate one Church of Christ and one Chair. Every

Every one is free for me to take what exceptions he pleaseth, to the various lessons of any of these places, or to interpret the words as he pleaseth. Always there seemeth to be enough to me in *St. Cyprian* to declare his own mind, without taking any advantage from any suppositious passages. Whether it be a truth or an error, it concerneth not me, I am sure it is none of mine error, if it be one, who neither maintain nor grant such a Primacy of order to be due to the Chair of *St. Peter* and his Successours, by the institution of Christ. But only dispute upon suppositions, that although there were such a beginning of unity, (which *Calvin* and *Beza* require in all Societies by the Law of Nature,) And although the Bishop of *Rome* had such a Primacy of order either by divine right, or humane right, yet it would not prejudice us, nor advantage them at all. Neither in truth is it worth contending about, or to be balanced with the peace of the Church, and of the Christian World. They who

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undervalue the Fathers, may stile their sayings untruths when they please. I have weighed my grounds over seriously to stumble at a Straw.

My fourth and last conclusion, is, that supposing still but not granting that any such Primacy of order or beginning of unity, (about which, we have no Controversie) was due to the Chair of St. *Peter* by divine right, or much rather by humane right, yet this supposed Chair of St. *Peter* is not fixed to *Rome*. As for divine right we have the plain confession of *Bellarmino*, it is not to be found either in Scripture or Tradition, that the Apostolick See is so fixed to *Rome*, that it cannot be removed, *Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 4.* And for humane right there needeth no proof. For whatsoever is constituted by humane right, may be repealed by humane right. This is my constant way everywhere. I do altogether deny a supremacy of Power and Jurisdiction over us in the exterior Court, which only is in controversie between us and the Pope. And whatsoever

soever Jurisdiction he hath elsewhere, I regulate by the Canons of the Fathers. I suppose a Primacy of order, but grant it not farther than it hath been granted by the Canons of the Catholick Church. And as it was acquired by humane right, so it may be taken away by humane right. To confound a Primacy of order with a Supremacy of Power, divine right with humane right, a legislative Power with an executive Power, is proper to blunderers. So in his two first Exceptions I suffer two palpable injuries. In the first Exception he chargeth me upon suspicion, directly contrary to my assertion. In the second Exception he confoundeth a Primacy and a Supremacy, order and power, and maketh me to fix that to the See of *Rome*, which I maintain to be unfixed.

His third Exception is this, *That the Pope should hold to himself and his Church his last 400. years determinations, and so continue, as the Bishop here concludes, to be no Apostolical, Orthodox, Catholick Church, nor to*
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have true Faith, is an unlikely thing to stand with the unity and concord which he mentioneth. We shall cement but sorrily with such a body as this. It is no wonder if Grotius suffer wrong by him, when my words are (at the best) so grossly mistaken, who live to interpret my self. First I give no leave to the Pope and Church of Rome to hold to themselves their last 400. years determinations. But if they will hold them I have no power to help it, or hinder it. My words are these, if you could be contented to wave your last 400. years determinations, or if you liked them for your selves, yet not to obtrude them upon other Churches. As if one should say, If Jeroboam will forbear to commit Idolatry himself, or if he will not, yet if he will forbear to compell others to commit Idolatry, I may come to live in Israel, no moderate man will say, that he giveth leave to Jeroboam to commit Idolatry. Secondly, he pretends most untruly that I make these to be the terms or
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conditions of a peace which I mention only as preparatives. My words are not then, we may unite and cement our selves together, but *then much good might be expected from free Councils and conferences of moderate persons.* He himself saith as much as I say. Thirdly, if they do not obtrude their last 400. years determinations upon other Churches, then they wave their legislative power, and take away from their Canons the nature of Laws, then they make them no longer points of Faith, but probable opinions. It was not the erroneous opinions of the Church of *Rome*, but the obtruding them by Laws upon other Churches which warranted a separation. He who will have no communion with a Church which hath different or erroneous opinions in it, so long as they are not obtruded must provide a ladder to climb up to Heaven by himself. And this is that which I said expressly in that very place cited by him, *We might yet live in hope to see an union, if not in all opinions, yet in Charity*

and all necessary points of saving truth. Let the Church of Rome do that which I require, that is the Apostolical Discipline, and Apostolical Creed without addition, and it shall become an Apostolical, and Catholick Church, and have true Faith.

His fourth Exception is this, *That the Pope should hold his Patriarchal power, is a meer innovation, and humane institution, as is his Primacy of order and such priviledges. The Council of Chalcedon avers it. And therefore it is no necessary thing to be conceded for the Churches peace.* That the Patriarchal dignity is an humane institution, all men who understand themselves do acknowledge. That it is a meer innovation, all men who understand themselves do deny. How should that be a meer innovation which was not first constituted, but confirmed as an ancient Ecclesiastical custom in the first general Council of Nice, and approved by all the general succeeding Councils of the Church, and particularly by the Council of Chalcedon which
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he mentioneth, which equalled the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to the Patriarch of *Rome*? This form of Government is allowed by the Canons of the Apostles, as I have shewed elsewhere. This Patriarchal Government *Calvin* himself did not only allow, but assert it to be *such a Form as God hath prescribed in his Word. Cal. Just. l. 4 c. 4. s. 4.* What wonder is it if they lose ground daily to the Romanists, who have the confidence to affirm that Patriarchal power is an innovation, and cite the great Council of *Chalcedon* for it.

He proceedeth to his fifth exception, *Multitudes that live in the western Nations of the World will still dissent both from the Popes Patriarchal power, and more from his way of exercising it. And so will be forced to fall under the reproach of Schismatics by these terms, and that for obeying the Law of Christ. If the Pope as Patriarch of the West should impose on us only and not on the East, the Doctrines and worship, and Ceremonies which he now imposeth on*

the Papists, (except the excepted before,) doth any man of reason think that the Reformed Churches would ever yield to them, or ought to do it? We will unite on Christs terms, and that will be a more sure and general Union, and not on such humane devises as these. Let those that made the Pope our Patriarch maintain his power, for Christ did not. Still weaker and weaker. Multitudes that live in the Western parts of the World will not only dislike the Popes Patriarchal power, but his Presbyterian Discipline, and his holy orders, the Creed, the Lords Prayer, the Sacraments, &c. must a man therefore quit his just right because some dislike it? Their dislike is but scandal taken, but the quitting of that which is right for their satisfaction should be scandal given. Whether is the worse?

By the way I desire him to consider two things; *First*, how they are forced to fall under the reproach of Schismatics? If they be forced any way, it is by their own wilful humours or

erroneous conscience. Other force here is none. If there be any force it is they which force themselves. *Secondly*, I would have him to consider, whether is the worse and more dangerous condition, for Christians to fall under the reproach of *Schismaticks*, which hath no sin in it, but is a means many times to reduce men into the fold of the *Catholick Church*, or for Christians to fall into *Schisme* it self. Whosoever shall oppose the just power of a Lawful Patriarch, lawfully proceeding, is a material Schismatick at least, and if his error be vincible, such as he might conquer and come unto the knowledge of the truth if he did his endeavour, he is a formal Schismatick.

His reasons of their falling under the reproach of Schismaticks *for obeying the Laws of Christ*, I confess I do not understand. Doth he think that Patriarchal power is contrary to the Laws of Christ, and that all the Primitive Churches and Councils and Christians did transgress the Laws of Christ in
this

this particular ? Surely he cannot think it. Or is it his Zeal to admit nothing in the Church grounded upon prudence and experience and the Law of nature, but only that which is commanded by Christ in Holy Scripture ? If that be it I refer him to Doctor *Sanderson* in his Preface before his 20. Sermons, to whom he professeth very great reverence. I had rather suspect that I understand him not, than Imagine him to be guilty of such an absurd conclusion.

To his question *if the Pope as Patriarch of the West should impose upon us which he imposeth upon the Papists, should the reformed Churches yield to them ?* I answer God forbid, but his whole discourse is grounded upon a Cluster of mistakes. First the Pope hath no right to the Patriarchate of all the West. Particularly he is not our Patriarch. Other Churches in the West might find out Primates or Patriarchs of their own as well as we, if they sought diligently for them. Secondly a single Patriarch hath not legislative

gislative power to impose Laws in his own Patriarchate, nor power to innovate any thing without the consent of his Bishops. Thirdly my former exceptions as he stileth them, or rather my preparatory conditions, do virtually comprehend all the gross errors of *the Roman Church*, both in Discipline and Doctrine, leaving no difference in necessary points of faith, but only in opinions. So if my conditions be observed, there is no place left for any such supposition. Lastly, I observe what an unsound kind of arguing this is, to deny a man his just right, as Patriarchal power was the Bishop of *Romes* just right, for fear lest he may abuse it. All factions use to miscale their own terms, *Christs terms*; to cancel all humane right under the notion of *humane devises*, is both inconsistent with the Law of Christ, and the welfare of all Societies. They who made the Bishop of *Rome* a Patriarch were the Primitive Fathers, not excluding the Apostles, and Christian Emperours, and Oecumenical

menical Councils. What Laws they made in this case, we are bound to obey for conscience sake, (until they be repealed Lawfully,) by virtue of the Law of Christ. A fairer plea than I know any for their own Consistory, where Lay-men usurp the power of the keys contrary to the Law of Christ.

His sixth exception is the same with the fifth, only there it is proposed hypothetically [If the Pope as Patriarch of the West should impose,] And here it is repealed categorically, *many things in Doctrine and worship which on these terms would be imposed both on East and West, and prevail in most of the Churches at this day, are sins against God, and therefore how small so ever they may be, are not to be consented unto for unity.* If there be any grain of truth in this proof, it is so indefinite, so conjectural, and so accidental, that it requireth no answer. How should a man either affirm or deny or distinguish of *many things*, without specifying

fying any one thing in particular: I
 assent thus far in general that no man
 can be obliged to do a sin against God,
 and that whatsoever humane Ordinance
 doth necessarily and essentially pro-
 duce sin, is unlawful. But until he
 tell us in particular what these many
 things are, or at least some one of
 them, and prove evidently that it is a
 sin against God, indeed, and not in his
 opinion only; and that it is infallibly
 true that it would be imposed, which
 would be an hard task to undertake
 without the gift of Prophecy; and
 lastly that the imposition of some such
 sinful thing or things, is not an arbi-
 trary or accidental abuse of that Law-
 ful power which I admit, but floweth
 naturally or essentially from it; I say
 until he do all this, all that he doth
 say signifieth nothing; and so I leave
 his *many things* as just nothing,

And come unto his seventh excep-
 tion, *The Æthiopian and other*
Churches that were still without the
verge of the Roman Empire, will never
acknowledge thus much to the Pope,
seeing

Seeing that even those humane Constitutions which gave him his Primacy of Order, determined of no more than the Roman World, and had nothing to do beyond Euphrates. How did the Popes lay any claim or meddle any further. And abundance among the Eastern Churches will deny this Primacy.

This exception was made in the dark, and therefore the errors that abound in it may more easily be pardoned, as proceeding from the not knowing of the true State of the Æthiopick and other Eastern Churches. Both the Æthiopick and all other Eastern Churches do unanimously admit this form of Government by *Patriarchs*, which I acknowledge. The Æthiopians have a *Patriarch* of their own, and so have all the other Eastern Churches. And particularly the Albana or Patriarch of *Æthiopia* is under the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, named by him, and ordained by him from time to time. So untrue it is that the Oecumenical Constitutions of general Councils extended not beyond *Euphrates*.

101. The *Æthiopick* and all other Eastern Churches do submit to the Council of *Nice*, and other Oecumenical Councils, by which Patriarchal Government was confirmed. They all acknowledge the *Patriarch of Rome* to be the chief *Patriarch*, whilst he behaveth himself well, and to have a Primacy of order among the *Patriarchs*. They know no points of faith but those which are contained in the ancient Creed, as we find at large in the Historical Description of *Æthiopia* by *Francis Alvares*. They all deny the Popes Supremacy of power, as we do. And when the Pope sought to introduce it into *Æthiopia*, by the mediation of the King of *Portugal*, *Claudius* then Emperour of *Æthiopia* returned this answer, *Se quidem fraterna in Lusitanum Regem voluntate esse ac fore, ceterum nihil sibi minus in mentem venisse, quam ut ideirco à Majorum institutis ac tot sæculorum spatio corroborata religione deficeret*, That he ought all good will to the King of *Portugal* as his Brother, but it was the least part of his thought there.

therefore to Apostate, from the orders and Religion of his Ancestors, received and radicated in Ethiopia throughout so many ages. Pet. Maffei Hist. Jud. l. 16. p. 749.

His eighth Exception is, *There is no hope of uniting the Churches on any terms but what are necessary and divine; for its vain to think that things humane and unnecessary, should be consented to by all. Much less things sinful.* In the name of God, why is it not possible that the Churches should be united upon some humane or prudential terms? Are there not common principles of natural equity, which reason dictateth to all mankind? That is one mistake. Secondly, the Law of Nature is a divine Law. And though Patriarchal Regiment be no express principle of the Law of Nature, yet it is very agreeable to it, and grounded upon it. Thirdly, though no humane ordinances be absolutely necessary to salvation, as those supernatural truths which are revealed in holy Scripture are, yet they may be respectively necessary.

cessary to the well-being of Religion. Lastly, in his conclusion *much less things sinful*, he disputes upon that which is not granted, nay more which is absolutely denied. Mr. Baxter will never be able to prove that any thing which is sinful, is contemned in my reconciliatory Propositions.

His ninth Exception signifieth as little as the rest, *There is no union to be had but upon the terms on which the Churches have sometimes been united. For a new way of union is not to be expected attempted. But never was the Church united on such concessions as these, and therefore never will be.* I Deny his assumption altogether. And if I were to chuse a reason, or medium whereby to demonstrate my way of reconciliation to be good, I could not fix upon a better than this, The Catholick Church hath been united on these same principles which I suppose, the same Faith without any addition, the same Ecclesiastical Discipline without any variation, the same Form of serving God publickly; And since the

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disper-

dispersion of the Church, all over the World, it never was united upon any other principles but these, nor can be united upon any other principles but these.

I am come to his tenth and last Exception, *It would be an exceeding dishonour to God, and injury to the Souls of many millions of men, if but under the Popes Patriarchal Jurisdiction in the West, the Papists way of Worship were set up, and their Government exercised as now. The good will of Rome, or the name of peace would not recompense the loss of so many thousand Souls, as some one of the Papal abuses might procure, for instance their driving the people from the Scriptures, and other means of knowledge.* All along he buildeth upon a wrong Foundation. It is one thing to set up, or to approve the setting up of a false way of Worship, which I do not justifie, And another thing to tolerate it when and where it is not in our power to hinder it, as both he and I must do whether we will or no. I do not
only

only give no consent to the setting up of any unlawful Form of Worship where it is not, but I wish it taken away where it is set up already. But if it be without the sphere of my activity I must let it alone perforce. If a Shepherd when it is past his skill to cure his rotten Sheep, shall do his uttermost to preserve that part of his Flock which is sound from infection, he deserveth to be commended for those he saved, not to be accused as the cause why so many perished, that were past his skill and power to cure. In a great Scathfire it is wisdom not only to suffer those Houses to burn down which are past quenching, but sometimes to pull down some few Houses wherein the fire is not yet kindled, to free all the rest of the City from danger. If the Pope within his own territories, or other Christian Princes by his means within their territories, will maintain a way of Worship which I do not approve, must I therefore, nay may I therefore, make War upon them to compell them to be of my Religion? So

we shall never have any peace in the World whilst there are different Religions in the world, for every one takes his own Religion to be best.

But what certainty hath he that *so many thousands, yea millions of souls* are lost, because they live in such places as are subject to the Pope. God is a merciful God, and looks upon his poor Creatures, with all their prejudices. Or how doth this agree with what he saith eliewhere, that *the French moderation is acceptable to all good men, And that Nation is an honourable part of the Church of Christ in his esteem.* It is no very honourable part of the Church of Christ, if so many millions of Souls run such extream hazard in it, p. 10. His marginal note of *their streams of blood and Massacres* might have been spared, for fear of putting some of them upon a parallel between theirs and ours. And for his instance of *driving the people from the Scriptures*, he escapeth fairly if none of them cast it in his teeth, that the promiscuous licence which they give to all
sorts

sorts of people, qualified or unqualified, not, only to read, but to interpret the Scriptures according to their private spirits or particular fancies, without any regard either to the analogy of Faith, which they understand not, or to the interpretation of the Doctors of former Ages, is more prejudicial, I might better say pernicious, both to particular Christians, and to whole Societies than the over rigorous restraint of the Romanists. Whereof a man need require no farther proof but only to behold the present face of the *English Church*. Truth commonly remaineth in the modest. And so I have shewed him how little weight there is in his ten Exceptions.

At the conclusion of his Exceptions he hath this clause, *Besides most of the evils that I charged before on the Grotian way (as censures, persecutions &c.) would follow upon this way.* It may follow in his erroneous opinion, but in truth and really no inconveniency at all doth follow upon what I say. The third cause of his dislike of the *Grotian*

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way

way was, *Because it is uncharitable and censorious; cutting off from the Catholick united Society, the reformed Churches that yield not to his terms, and will not be reconciled to the Pope of Rome.* Let them take heed that they cut not off themselves, for I neither cut them off, nor declare them to be cut off. If they will not be reconciled to the Pope of Rome, upon warrantable and just terms, such as were approved by the Primitive Church, such as those are which I propose, for any thing he doth say, or can say to the contrary, it is his own uncharitableness not mine. Some men would call it Schismatical obstinacy. But this reason hath been fully answered before.

The fourth reason of his dislike of this design is, *Because it is a trap to tempt and engage the Souls of millions into the same uncharitable, censorious, and reproachful way.* When a false Center of the Churches unity is set up, and impossible, or unlawful terms of concord are pretended thus

to be the only terms, they that believe this will uncharitably censure all those for Schismatics, or Hereticks that close not with them on these terms.

His first office should have been to have proved that my way is uncharitable, censorious, or reproachful, and that my terms are impossible and unlawful, which he neither doth, nor attempteth to do, nor ever will be able to do. And until he do it, or go about it, all his reasons are a pure begging of the question, and no better, and consequently deserve no answer.

The fifth reason of his dislike is, because it tendeth to engage the Princes of Christendom in a persecution of their Subjects, that cannot comply with these unwarrantable terms. And that is likely to be no small number, nor the worse part, but the soundest, and wisest, and holiest men. For if Princes be once perswaded that these be the only terms, and so that the dissenters are factious, Schismatical and unpeaceable men, no wonder if they silence the Ministers, and perse-

cute the people. It is an easier thing to call them unlawful, and unwarrantable terms twenty times, than to make it good once. It is a fault in *Rhetorick*, and in *Logick* also to use common reasons, such as may be retorted against our selves by an Adversary. Such a reason is this, and may be urged with as much shew of reason against all Writers of Controversies whatsoever, and against Mr. *Baxter* himself in particular, with as much colour of truth as he urgeth it against *Grotius* or me. That if Princes be once perswaded that those terms which he proposeth be true, and the contrary errors, no wonder if they silence the Ministers, and persecute the People. Or if they be once perswaded by him, that his new Discipline is the Scepter of Christ prescribed in the Gospel, then the Episcopal Divines, and the Independents are sure to suffer. This frivolous pretence will fit all causes whatsoever, though they be never so Diametrically opposite one to another.

Secondly,

Secondly, I answer that there is not one grain of clear distinct necessary truth in this whole Discourse, but uncertain suspicions, groundless persuasions, confused generalities, and beggings of the question. That the terms are unlawful and unwarrantable, that he and his party are the soundest, and wisest, and holiest of Christians, is groundless presumption and begging of the question. That the Princes of Christendom will be perswaded themselves, and thereupon condemn the dissenters, and silence the Ministers, and persecute the People, are all uncertain conjectures, and accidental events. What Princes of Christendom he doth intend or can intend, who are those dissenters whom he calleth the soundest, and wisest, and holiest of men; what Ministers he meaneth ordained or unordained, or both; And what Flocks such as they had a legal title to, or such as they have usurped, are all confused indefinite generalities, and ought to have been set forth more distinctly.

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In a word *mutato nomine de se Fabula narratur*. Whatsoever he saith of imaginary *Grotians*, is really true of his own Party. They have prevailed with persons of power and Authority, and perswaded them to silence and persecute, and to chase away from their Flocks the right Pastors, and have usurped their Benefices and Charges themselves. And all this while pretended (shameless men,) that they are doing God good service. He is not able to charge any of his imaginary *Grotians* with any such thing. *This is to bite and whine, as the Proverb hath it, to do wrong and to complain of suffering wrong.* Popular Persecutions of all others are ever most groundless, and most violent.

The more moderate that mens judgements are, as *Grotius* his judgement was, and mine is, the farther off they are from engaging Princes to persecute their Subjects. *Cowards* ordinarily are most *cruel*. So weak and willful persons are most apt to promote

more Persecutions, knowing that to be their only defence against those whom they are unable to answer with reason. There are seditious principles and practices enough in the World to irritate Princes, without any other bad offices, which have been introduced into the Church under a pretext of Religion, such as no man living can justify, such as are inconsistent with all humane Societies. Such as if God be pleased once to restore men perfectly to their right Wits, they must be sure in the *first* place to cast out of the *World*, if they do ever mean to preserve Peace and Tranquility among themselves. It were much more politickly done of him to leave this subject, which the more it is stirred in, the worse it will smell to some body.

In the conclusion of this Objection he complaineth thus, *This is the unhappy issue of the attempts of Pride. When men have such high thoughts of their own imaginations, and devices, &c.* Which is most true in general

general if he can let it rest there. But if he proceed any farther to examine on what side this Pride doth lie, whether among the *Grotian* Party, as *Cassander*, and *Wicelius*, and *Grotius*, or among his own Party, if it were fit to name them, he will quickly find who they are that do *calcere iustum majore fastu*, tread down Pride with greater Pride, through the holes of whose coats vain glory doth discover it self. That ever Presbyterians should complain of Pride!

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Mr. Baxters one was of reconciliation.

THUS having in his own Imagination battered down that frame of an Union, which he thought I had proposed, though in truth all his reasons have scarcely force to shake an Aspin leaf. Yet for our comfort he telleth us that *he will not leave the business thus, lest whilst he pulls down all and offers nothing instead thereof, he might be thought an Enemy to peace.* It is all the reason in the World that if peace be so desirable as he maketh it, and he shew his dislike of our ways to procure it, he should propose a better expedient of his own, that other men may have the liberty to try if they can say more against his way, than he hath hitherto been able to say against theirs: but I have my jealousies and fears as well as he, and better founded, that

that he will never prove a good Architect in this kind, because I never found any man yet who was given to innovation, but his genius was ten times apter for pulling down than for building up.

But let us view his own way or terms of peace without prejudice. *In general therefore I say, that the terms of an Universal concord or peace must be purely Divine and not humane, necessary and not things unnecessary, ancient according to the Primitive simplicity; and neither new nor yet too numerous, curious, or abstruse.* These are Generals indeed, and if they were all consented unto, the peace would not be much nearer than it is. I think such general terms or Articles of peace were never seen before in our days. From what hopes am I fallen? I expected that having rejected our ways of reconciliation, he would have chalked us a new ready way of his own, free from all exceptions. And he only telleth us that a way must be short and streight beaten and smooth,
and

and so leaveth us to find out such a way for our selves where we can. This is just take nothing and hold it fast. Such general ways are commonly the ways of Bunglers or Deceivers. One of *Mercuries* Statues though it were dumb could have given better directions for a way than this. But he who will be a Reconciler of Controversies must be more particular.

Yet let us take a particular view of his general directions. *The terms of an Universal peace must be purely Divine not humane.* How purely divine not humane? That is impossible. That which is purely divine hath no mixture of humane in it; but these terms of peace must be made and contrived by men, between man and man, for the use of men, and after an humane manner; not by immediate inspiration. So these terms cannot be *purely divine.* But perhaps his meaning is no more than this, that in an accommodation no humane Constitutions ought to be imposed upon the Churches. Then down goes his Presbyterian

byterian Discipline, for that is both humane and new. When *Calvin* first proposed it to the *Helvetian* Divines for their approbation, he desired no more of them but to testify that it was not disagreeable to the word of God, or came near to the word of God. It is meet and just that no humane Constitutions should be imposed as Divine ordinances, but it doth not follow thence that all humane right and law must be thrust out for rotten.

Humane right is grounded upon Divine right, that is the Law of nature, and the positive Laws of God, and cannot be violated without the violation of the Divine Law, and ought to be observed for Conscience sake, out of a respect to the Divine Law, which commandeth *every soul to be subject to the higher Powers*. Is not this like to prove a fair accommodation? wherein the first Article must be to renounce the light of natural reason, and the experience of so many ages since Christs time, and the prudential Constitutions of all our primitive Guides. These
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are such terms of peace as can please no body but Sequestrators, and such as live like Moths in other mens garments. Neither would his presented Divine terms be more favourable to innovations than humane terms, but only that this way affordeth wranglers a longer time to prevaricate, before Controversies can be maturely determined. If ever there were an Universal reconciliation of all Christians, the first act which they ought to do after their Union, is to cast out all such pernicious principles as this form among them, before they thrust out all reason and humane right out of the World.

His second rule is *the terms of peace must be things necessary not unnecessary*. We are beholden to King James not to him for this prudent direction. But by setting it down so imperfectly he makes it his own. There are two sorts of necessary things. Some things are absolutely necessary to the being of the Church. Some other things are respectively necessary to the well-being

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of

of the Church. The terms of peace ought to extend to both these, to the former ever more, to the later as far as it may be. Or yet more distinctly. Some things are necessary *necessitate medii*, as necessary means of salvation, without which no Church can consist. Concerning these there is little or no need of reconciliation, where there is no difference. *Secondly*, Some other things are necessary *necessitate precepti*, as commanded by God or by the Church of God. Both these are necessary in their several degrees, and both of them ought to be taken in consideration in a reconciliation, but especially the former, yet not excluding the later. Every thing ought to be loosed by the same Authority by which it was bound. *Thirdly*, There are other things which though they be neither necessary means of salvation, nor necessarily Commanded by God or man, yet they are necessary by a necessity of convenience, out of pious and prudential considerations, *Hinc, hinc, nunc*, to this or that Church, to

Church, at this or that time, in this or that place. The greatest consideration that ought to be had of these things, is to leave every Church free to determine their own necessities or conveniences, yet with a regard to unity and uniformity.

His Third rule is, *the terms of peace must be ancient according to the primitive simplicity, and neither new nor yet too numerous, curious, or abstruse.* His first rule doth virtually comprehend both his later rules, and renders them superfluous. For if nothing be admitted into the terms of peace but Divine truths, they can neither be unnecessary, nor new, nor too numerous, curious, or abstruse. And this way of his rightly expressed and understood is the same in effect with my way which he pretendeth to impugn. He admitteth no truths but Divine, and excludeth all humane rights which is more than he ought to do. I distinguish divine right from humane right, and give unto the Law of God both written and unwritten,

and to the Laws of the Church, and to the Laws of *Cæſar*, their reſpective dues. He admitteth none but neceſſary truths; I admit no truths in point of Faith, but theſe which the bleſſed Apoſtles judged to be neceſſary and comprehended in the Creed. I reject all new coined Articles of faith, all uſurpations in point of Diſcipline, all innovations in point of worſhip. He propoſeth for a Pattern of union *the ſimplicity of the ancient and primitive Church*; So do I, before the faith was adulterated by the addition of new Articles, or the Diſcipline tranſlated into a new Monarchical way, or the publick worſhip of God was corrupted by the injunction of ſinful or ſupernumerary rites

I wiſh he had expreſſed himſelf more clearly what he means by the primitive ſimplicity. I hope it is not his intention that either the houſe of God or the publick ſervice of God ſhould be ſordid and contemptible. He cannot be ignorant, that ſo far as the preſent condition of times, and places, and
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Persons and affairs will bear it there ought to be some porportion between that great God whom we serve, and that service which we perform unto him. God was acceptably served by the Primitive Christians both in their Cells, & Vaults, & homely Oratories in times of persecution, and likewise in stately and magnificent Temples and Cathedrals when God had given peace and plenty to his Church. Wisdom is justified of her Children. Yet even in those times of persecutions a man would wonder at that external splendour wherewith those devouter souls served God, where they had means and opportunity.

Neither do I perfectly understand what his aim is, where he would not have *the terms of peace to be curious or abstruse*. I conjecture it reflecteth upon the School-men. And if his meaning only be, that he would not have our Catechisms or accommodations to be pestered and perplexed with the obscure terms and endless disputations of the Schools, I do readily assent. But

if he think that in the work of reconciliation there is no need of a Scholastick Plain to take away the crabbed knots, and to smoothe the present Controversies of the Christian World, I must dissent from him. We find by daily experience that the greatest differences and such as made the most Noise, and the deepest breach in the Christian World, being rightly and Scholastically stated do both become easy and intelligible, and now appear to have been meer mistakes one of another. And when many other questions are rightly handled after the same manner, I presume they will find the like end. When I was a young Student in Theology Doctor *Ward* declared his mind to me, to this purpose, that it was impossible that the present Controversies of the Church should be rightly determined or reconciled without a deep insight into the Doctrine of the Primitive Fathers, and a competent skill in School Theology. The former affordeth us a right pattern, and the second smootheith it over and plaineth away the knots.

Though

Though he himself do deal only in Generals: yet he telleth us that Mr. *Chillingworth* hath already particularly told the World a way of unity. It is well if he have, but if it prove as general as his own way, it will not conduce much to the Peace of Christendom. What hath Mr. *Chillingworth* told us, or where hath he told it? Had it not been worthy of his labour to have repeated the words, or cited the place? What a deal of vanity is it to write whole Treatises in confutation of others, to no purpose, and when he comes to the main business, or to the only necessary and satisfactory point to be mute. It is long since I read over Mr. *Chillingworth*, but I remember no such particular reconciliatory way told by him to all the World, but only some general intimations or directions. All that I do remember or meet with I shall produce.

The first place is in the Frontispiece of his Book. Neither is that his own judgement, but the judgement of King

James, related by Mr. Casaubon in his Epistle to Cardinal Peron, in these words, *The King judgeth that the number of things absolutely necessary to salvation is not great. Wherefore his Majesty thinks there is no more compendious way to Peace, than to distinguish diligently, things necessary, from things not necessary, and to endeavour to procure an agreement about necessary things, and that place may be given to Christian liberty in things not necessary. The King calleth those things simply necessary, which either the Word of God commandeth expressly to be beloved or done, or which the ancient Church did draw out of the Word of God by necessary consequence. If this distinction were used to decide the present Controversies, and divine right were ingeniously distinguished from positive or Ecclesiastical right, it seemeth not that the contention would be long, or sharp between pious and moderate men, about things absolutely necessary. For they are both few as we said even now, and are for the most*

most part approved by all, who desire to be called Christians. And his most renowned Majesty thinketh this distinction to be of so great moment, to diminish the Controversies which trouble the Church so much at this day, that he judgeth it the duty of all who are studious of Peace, to explain it diligently, and teach it, and urge it. This is an excellent way indeed, but it is a general way, not a particular way; It was King James his way, not Mr. *Chillingworths*. What King James pointed at in general, I pursue in particular. But that prudent Prince was far enough from dreaming, that there could be no reconciliation of Christendom, except all humane right were destroyed or taken away. This is Mr. *Baxters* own unbeaten way.

I find a second passage to this purpose in Mr. *Chillingworths* answer to the Preface *nn.* 23. Notwithstanding all your errors, we do not renounce your communion totally, and absolutely, but only leave communicating with you in the practice and profession of
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your errors. The trial whereof will be to propose some Form of Worshipping God, taken wholly out of Scripture. And herein if we refuse to join with you, then and not till then, may you justly say we have utterly and absolutely abandoned your communion. This might serve for a coversew to hide the flame of our contentions from breaking out whilst we are at our devotions. But it hath nothing of reconciliation in it, and hath as little probability of a pacification. We desire not half so much as this of them to change their whole Liturgy, but only to leave out some of their own latter additions, which never were in any of the Primitive Liturgies. By being taken wholly out of the Scripture, either it is intended that it shall be all in the words and phrase of Scripture, That will weigh little. I have never observed any thing more repugnant to the true sense of Scripture, than some things which have been expressed altogether in the phrase of Scripture. Or it is intended that the matter of the Liturgy

turgy shall be taken wholly out of the Scripture. But this hath so little of an expedient in it, that it will leave the Controversie where it is. Both Parties do already contend that their respective Forms are taken out of the Scriptures.

He hath another passage much to the same purpose in his answer to the third Chapter, *part 1. n. 11.* *If you would at this time propose a Form of Liturgy, which both sides hold Lawful, and then they [Protestants] would not join with you in this Liturgy, you might have some colour to say that they renounced your communion absolutely.* First, remedy regardeth only a communion in Publick Worship, without any respect to an union in Faith and Discipline. Secondly, even in the point of Publick Worship it leaves the difference where it was, what is a Lawful Form. Those things which the Romanists hold to be necessary the Protestants shun as superstitious excesses. And that Form which the Protestants would allow, the Romanists cry out on as defective in necessary duties, and parti-

particularly wanting five of their Sacraments. Nay certainly to call the whole frame of the Liturgy into dispute, offers too large a field for contention. And is nothing so likely a way of Peace as either for us to accept of their Form, abating some such parts of it as are confessed, to have been added since the Primitive times, and are acknowledged not to be simply necessary, but such as charitable Christians ought to give up and Sacrifice to an Universal Peace, and would do it readily enough, if it were not for mutual animosities of both Parties, and the particular Interests of some persons. Or if they should say to us as *Father Paul Harvis* (a Romanist violent enough) hath often said to me, that if we had retained the Liturgy used in *Edward* the sixths time, he would not have forbore to come to our communion. To procure peace, there must be condescension on both sides.

I find a third place, *part 1. cap. 4. n. 29. To reduce Christians to unity of Communion, there are but two ways that*

that may be conceived probable. The one by taking away diversity of opinions touching matters of Religion. The other by shewing that the diversity of opinions, which is among the several sects of Christians, ought to be no hinderance to their unity in communion. The former of these is not to be hoped for without a Miracle. Then what remains but that Christians be taught that their agreement in the high points of Faith and obedience, ought to be more effectual to win them in one communion, than their difference in things of less moment to divide them. I must crave leave to dissent from Mr. *Chillingworth* in his former conclusion, That diversity of opinions among Christians touching matters of Religion cannot be taken away without a Miracle. A great many of those Controversies which raised the highest animosities among Christians at the first Reformation, are laid aside already by moderate and judicious persons of both Partys, without any Miracle, and are only kept on foot
by

by some blunderers, who follow the old Mode when the Fashion is grown out of date, either out of prejudice, or pride, or want of judgement, or altogether.

And as many Controversies of the greatest magnitude are already as good as reconciled, So more may be. There is no opposition to be made against evident truth. I hope Mr. Baxter will be of my mind, who confesseth that *He is grown to a great deal of confidence, that most of our contentions about [Arminian] Points, are more about Words than Matter.* And doubteth whether there be any difference at all in the point of Free-will. præf. sect. 5. And affirmeth that *the difference between Protestants and many Papists about certainty of Salvation, (except the point of perseverance) is next to none.* And with some Papists in the point of perseverance also, Sect. 64.

The second conclusion was borrowed by Mr. Chillingworth from my Lord Primate. That our agreement in the high and necessary Points of Faith and obedience,

obedience, ought to be more effectual to unite us than one difference in opinions to divide us. Concerning which there is no need of my suffrage, for it is just mine own way. My second demand in my proposition of Peace was this. *That the Creed or necessary points of Faith might be reduced to what they were in the time of the four first Oecumenical Concils, according to the decree of the third General Council. (Who dare say that the faith of the Primitive Fathers was insufficient, &c.)* I do profess to all the World that the transforming of indifferent opinions into necessary Articles of Faith, hath been that *insana laurus*, or cursed Bay-tree, the cause of all our brawling and contention. Judge, Reader, indifferently, what reason Mr. *Baxter* had to disallow my terms of Peace, (as he is pleased to call them) and allow Mr. *Chillingworth*, when my terms are the very same which Mr. *Chillingworth* proposeth, and my Lord Primate before him, and King *James* before them both.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The true reasons of the Bishops abatement of the last 400. years Determinations.

IN his one and fortieth Section; he hath these words, *He will not with Bishop Bramhall abate us the determinations of the last 400. years, though if he did, it would prove but a pitiful patch for the torn condition of the Church.* When I made that proposition that the Papists would wave their last 400. years determinations, I did it with more serious deliberation, than he bestowed upon his whole *Grobian Religion.* Begun April 9. 1658. And finished April 14. 1658. My reason was to controul a common error received by many, that those errors and usurpations of the Church of *Rome*, which made the breach between them and us, were much more ancient than in truth they were. What those

those errors and usurpations were cannot be judged better than by our Laws and Statutes, which were made and provided as remedies for them. I know they had begun some of their gross errors and usurpations long before that time, and some others not long before, but the most of them, and especially those which necessitated a separation, after that time.

Those errors and usurpations which were begun before that time, if they be rightly considered, were but the sinful and unjust actions of particular *Popes* and *Persons*, and could not warrant a publick separation from the Church of *Rome*. I deny not but that erroneous opinions in inferiour points, rather concerning faith than of faith, and some sinful and unwarrantable practices, both in point of Discipline and devotion, had crept into the Church of *Rome* before that time. But erroneous opinions may be, and must be tolerated among *Christians*, so they be not opposite to the ancient *Creed* of the Church, nor

obtruded upon others as necessary points of saving faith.

Neither is any man bound or necessitated to join with other men in *sinful* and *unwarrantable opinions* or *practices*, until they be established and imposed *necessarily* upon all others by *Law*. Whilst it was free for any man to give a fair interpretation of an harsh expression or action without incurring any danger, there was no necessity of separation. But when these *tyrannical* usurpations were justified by the *decrees of Councils*, and imposed upon *Christians* under pain of *Excommunication*, when these erroneous *opinions* were made necessary *Articles* of saving faith, *extra quam non est salus*, without which there is no salvation, when these *sinful* and *unwarrantable practices* were *injoined* to all *Christians*, and when all these unjust usurpations, erroneous opinions, and *sinful* and *unwarrantable practices*, were made necessary conditions of *Communion* with the Church of *Rome*, so that no man could Communicate with the
Roman

Roman Church but he that would submit to all these usurpations, believe all these erroneous opinions, and obey all their sinful injunctions, then there was an absolute necessity of separation.

Then if any man inquire when and how this necessity was imposed upon Christians, I answer, all this was ratified and done altogether, or in a manner altogether, by these last 400. years Determinations, beginning with the Council of *Lateran* in the days of *Innocent* the third, after the twelve hundredth year of Christ, when Transubstantiation was first defined, and ending with the *Council* of *Trent*. So though these were not my terms of peace, but preparatory demands, yet if these demands be granted our concord would not only be nearer, (which he acknowledgeth) but the peace almost as good as made, and Christians were freed from their unjust Canons, and left to their former liberty. When they had granted so much, it were a shame for them to stick at a small remainder.

CHAP. IX.

*An Answer to sundry aspersions cast
by Mr. Baxter upon the Church
of England.*

I Have done with all that concerneth my self in *Mr. Baxters Grotian Religion*. But I find a bitter and groundless invective in him towards the conclusion of his treatise, wherein he laboureth to cast dirt upon his spiritual Mother the Church of *England*, which out of my just and common duty I cannot pass over in silence. He saith, p. 75. That this *Grotian* design in *England* was *destructive to Godliness and the prosperity of the Churches*. What Churches doth he mean? By the Laws of *England* Civil and Ecclesiastical we ought to have but one Church. It was never well with *England* since we had so many Churches and so many Faiths. I am afraid those which he calls Churches were Conventicles.

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He proceedeth, that *it animated the impious haters of piety and common civility.* First he ought to have proved that there was such a design in *England* which he neither hath done nor ever will be able to do. That which never had any being but in his Imagination, never had any efficacy but in his Imagination. He addeth that *men were hated for Godliness sake.* That is (to exprest his sense truly) were restrained in their seditious and Schismatical courses, which he stileth *Godliness.*

Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis & umbra.

And troubled and suspended and driven out of the Land, though most of them twenty for one were conformists. How, Conformist and yet persecuted? If this be not a contradiction yet it is incredible, that so many men should be silenced and suspended every where without Law. Certainly there was a Law pretended. Certainly there was

a Law indeed, and that Law made before they were either punished or ordained. I will put the right case fairly to Mr. *Baxter*, if he have any mind to determine it. Let him tell us who is to be blamed, he that undertaketh an office of his own accord, which he cannot or will not discharge as the Law injoineth, or he that executeth the Law upon such as had voluntarily confirmed it by their own oaths or subscriptions, or both.

He proceedeth, that *it was safer in all places that ever he knew, for men to live in swearing, cursing, drunkenness, than to have instructed a Mans family, and restrained Children and Servants from dancing on the Lords-day, and to have gone to the next Parish to hear a sermon, when there was none at home.*

Quicquid ostendat mihi sic incredulus odi.

I am sory to find so much gall where so much piety is professed. Who did
ever

ever forbid a man to instruct his own family? Let him but name one instance for his credits sake, or command any Person to dance upon the Lords day, or restrain a man from going to the next Parish to hear a Sermon, if there was no more in it then he pretendeth? Here are I know not how many fallacies heaped together. No cause is put for a cause, and that which is *respectively* true for that which is *absolutely* true. No man was ever punished for instructing his own family, but it may be for holding unlawful Conventicles, or for instructing them in seditious schismatical or heretical principles. Nor for going to the next Parish to hear a Sermon. Thousands did it daily and never suffered for it. But it may be for neglecting or deserting his own *Parish Church*, and gadding up and down after *non-conformists*, or after Persons justly suspended or deprived for *heterodox* Doctrine, or labouring to introduce *foreign* Discipline, without Law against Law, and strange unknown forms of serving God, and ad-

ministering his holy Sacraments according to their own private phantasies. Nor for restraining their Children or Servants from dancing on the Lords day, but it may be for taking upon them as busy Bodies, and pragmatically controlling the Acts of their Sovereign *Prince* and lawful superiours ; which the Laws of God and Man , nature and nations , Church and Kingdom did allow , and for restraining the liberty of their fellow subjects, and seeking to introduce new Law without a calling or beyond their calling, which the Church of God , and Kingdom of *England* never knew. If Mr. *Baxter* think that no recreations of the body at all are lawful or may be permitted upon the Lords day, he may call himself a *Catholick* if he please , but he will find very few Churches of any Communion whatsoever , old or new, reformed or unreformed to bear him company.

No no, even among the Churches of his own Communion which he call-
eth *the holiest Parts of the Church upon Earth,*

Earth, he will find none at all to join with him, except the Churches of *New England*, and *Old England*, and *Scotland*, whereinto this opinion hath been creeping by degrees, this last half Century of years or somewhat more. Before that time even our greatest Disciplinarians in *England* abhorred not private recreations, so they could practise them without scandal. And *Calvin* himself disdained not to countenance and encourage the Burgers of *Geneva*, by his own presence and example at their publick recreations, as Bowling and Shooting upon the Lords Day, after their devotions at Church were ended. In *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *France*, and the *Low Countryes*, all the Churches of his own Communion, do enjoy their recreations. And in sundry of them their Prayers and Sermons on the afternoon of the Lords Day, are but lately introduced, whereas formerly not the vulgar only, but the most eminent persons did use to bestow the whole afternoon upon their recreations.

But

But it may be his pick is not against recreations in general, but against dancing in particular. Indeed dancing was disliked at *Geneva*, not only upon the Lords Days, but upon the other days of the week. And if their manner of Dancing there, or any where else was so obscene, as hath been in use in former Ages, in some places, not undeservedly. No man can be so absurd as to affirm all sorts of Dancing to be unlawful, as *Miriam's* Dance, and that of the *Virgins of Shilo*, and *Jephtha's Daughter*, and *David*. There is no time for any thing that is absolutely unlawful; But *there is a time to Dance*, Eccles. 3. 4. — On the other side it is as great an extream to affirm that all sorts of Dances are unlawful. Not only consciencious Christians, but even modest Heathens have disliked some sorts of Dances. And as there are some sorts of Dances unlawful, so there may be great danger of abuse in the use of Lawful Dances. But where there is no lawful, or direct prohibition ther of God or man, we may advise a
 Brother

Brother or a Friend to beware of danger, but we have no Authority to restrain him except he will of his own accord. As for the publick Dances of our Youth on Country Greens, upon Sundays after the Dutys of the Day were done, I see nothing in them but innocent, and agreeable to that under sort of people. But if any man out of prudence, or conscience, or scrupulosity, do disaffect them, either because they were sometimes used promiscuously, or for any other reasons, I think it easier to regulate those recreations which should be allowed, than to brawl about them perpetually until the end of the World.

Among all the imputations and aspersions, which were cast upon the Governmentt of our late dread Sovereign *King James*, and *King Charles*, there was none that had more colour of truth, or found more applause among some sorts of persons, whose Zeal exceeded their discretion, than their Proclamations to tolerate publick recreations upon the Lords Day, though there was

no

no Law of God or man to prohibit them. The very truth is this, *King James* making his Progress through *Lancashire*, about forty years since or more, (a Country at that time abounding with *Papists*, and *Non-Conformists*,) the Country People preferred a Petition to his Majesty, that whereas after their hard weekly labours ended, they had evermore for time immemorial enjoyed the liberty to recreate themselves upon Sundays, of late some scrupulous Ministers upon their own heads, without any Law or Lawful Authority did restrain them; Therefore they humbly be sought his Majesty to restore them to their ancient Liberty. His *Majesty* prudently weighing what advantage might be raised to the Protestant Religion in those superstitious parts, by his favourable condescension, Granted their request upon two conditions. First, That no such recreations should be used in time of Divine Service or Sermon, either forenoon or afternoon,. Secondly, That none should enjoy that liberty but those that had been actually twice
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at the Church that Day, both at morning and evening Prayers. And by this prudent condescension he gained the People from *Popery*, to the *Protestants Religion*. The very making this Objection the principal accusation against those two *pious Princes*, is an evident proof of the innocency of their Reigns

He proceedeth, *In some places it was much more dangerous for a Minister to Preach a Lecture once or twice on the Lords Day, or to expound the Catechism, than never to Preach at all.* He must excuse us if we can not give credit to what he saith. Never any man suffered any where in the Church of *England* simply for Preaching, but it may be for Preaching *seditions* Sermons, or *Schismatical* Sermons, or *Heretical* Sermons, or for intruding himself into the *sacred* Office of a *Preacher* without *Lawful* calling, or for some *Abuse* of his function. Even so the Buyers and Sellers might have pleaded that they (innocent People) were whipped by Christ, for furnishing
Gods

Gods People with Sacrifices. And *Uzza* might have pleaded much better, that he lost his life for seeking to support the Ark of God from falling. Doth he think that we are such silly Birds to be caught with such empty chaff as this is? Or not to be able to distinguish between an action, and the the obliquity of it? The *Pharisees* Prayer, , the Harlots Vow, the Traitors Kifs, were commendable actions in general as well as his Preaching of Lectures. But either the incapacity of the person, or a sinister intention, or a defective manner, or a contempt of lawful authority, might render, and did render all these actions sinful and punishable. *Apollos* watering is necessary, as well as *Pauls* planting, especially until the plants have taken good root. But after whole Nations have been long radicated in *Christianity*, and have framed to themselves *Liturgies*, and other Books of devotion for the publick and private Worship of God, And *Catechisms* which comprehend all necessary and essential points of Faith,
and

and all the parts of new *obedience*, to phantafie that without weekly Sermons all Religion is extinct, is as much as to perswade us that no man can possibly write, except he have his Master perpetually by him to hold his hand, or that a Field cannot yield a good crop, except it be sown over and over again every month: of the two, a private guide seemeth to be more necessary to a grounded Christian, than a publick Preacher.

But if Preachers shall not content themselves to sow the *Wheat* over again, but shall sow *Tares* above the *Wheat*, If they shall seek to introduce new Doctrines, new Disciplines, and new Forms of Worship, by popular Sermons, different from and destructive to those which are established by *Law*, who can blame the *Magistrates Political, and Ecclesiastical* if they begin to look about them. A seditious Oratour is dangerous every where, but no where more than in the *Pulpit*. Then blame not Magistrates if they punish seditious or Schismatical Preachers, more than
one

one who is no Preacher. All Laws, and all prudent Magistrates regard public dangers, more than particular defects. Yet farther, supposing them to be both faulty, the fault of a Reader is *pura negationis*, a meer omission of duty, extenuated many times by invincible necessity, but the fault of a seditious Preacher is *pura dispositionis*, a fault of a perverse disposition. Then he may cease to wonder why Preachers are sometimes punished more for Preaching ill, than for being silent, and recall to his mind the practice of that prudent Schoolmaster, who exacted but a single salary from such of his Scholars as had never been taught, but a double salary from those who had been mistaught, because he must use double diligence with them, first to unteach them what they had learned amiss, and then to teach them.

I have much more respect for those poor Readers whom he mentioneth every where with contempt. I hope they may do, and many of them do God good and acceptable service in his
Church,

Church, and co-operate to the Salvation of many Christian Souls, by reading the Holy Scriptures, and the Liturgy and Homilies of the Church, and administering the Holy Sacraments. And I have heard wise men acknowledge, that if it had not been for these very Readers, in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when Preaching was very rare, *England* had hardly been preserved, as it was, both from Popery, and from Atheism. Their very Reading is a kind of Preaching, *Act. 15. 21.* *Moses of old time hath in every City them that Preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day.* And their reading of Homilies doth yet approach nearer to formal Preaching. Or if it come short of Preaching in point of *efficacy*, it hath the advantage of Preaching in point of *security*. The private conceits of new fangled Preachers, by being vented publickly as the Word of God, have done much hurt, which the reading of publick Homiles never did. Let not this Apology for Readers occasion him

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or

or any other man presently to condemn me for a *Loiterer* in my calling; Those who have known me will acquit me. Let this be considered and acknowledged that as Readers *Talents* are mean, so are their *Benefices*. And this is the great comfort that they have, that they are below a Sequestration. The fire of Zeal which driveth able Scholars out of their great Churches, never lights upon their little Chappels. So the great Flyes are catched in their publick Nets, whilst the lesser pass through and through them without any danger or fear of being entangled.

Nondum finitus orestes. His invective is not yet done. Hundreds of Congregations had Ministers that never Freached, and such as were common Drunkards, and openly ungodly, &c. I know not how it comes to pass that in this last Age the Pastors of Churches have got the name of Ministers, that is Servants or Deacons, and they that are Ministers or Deacons indeed have got the name of *ruling Elders*. Those whom he accounteth for no *Preachers*, were

were *Preachers* in an inferiour degree. And our Canons provideth that the meanest Churches or Chappels throughout *England*, which had cure of Souls should have formal Sermons at least four times in every year. If some common Drunkards or ungodly persons were crept into the *English* Church it is no wonder. Among the twelve Apostles there was one *Judas*. What may be expected among twelve thousand? This is just the manner of Flies to leave the whole Body which is sound, and dwell continually upon one little sore. I have seldom observed that ever any man who had a good cause, which would bear out it self, did make such impertinent objections as this, or sling dirt in the face of an Adversary in the stead of weapons. He saith no more of the *English* Church, than God by his holy Prophets hath said of his own Church, no more than may be justly retorted and said of any Church in the world, even upon his *Presbyterian* Churches in particular, with as much and much more truth as

it could ever be objected against the Church of England.

He addeth, when yet the most learned, Godly, powerful, painful, peaceable men, that durst not use the old Ceremonies or the new, must be cast aside or driven way, &c. Comparisons are odious. But such superlatives are incredible, and argue nothing but the Writers pride and partiality, and little regard to what he writeth. Let Mr. Baxter sum up into one Catalogue all the *non-conformists* throughout the Kingdom of England, ever since the beginning of the reformation, who have been cast aside or driven away at any time, because they durst not use the old Ceremonies or the new, or rather because they found it advantageous to them to disuse them, (I dare abate him all the rest of the Kingdom,) and only exhibite the martyrologies of London and the two Universities, or a list of those who in these late intestine Wars have been haled away to prisons, or chased away into banishment.

nishment by his own party, in these three places alone, or left to the mercileſs world to beg their bread, for no other crime then loyalty, and be-
 cauſe they ſtood affected to the an-
 cient rites and ceremonies of the
Church of England, and they ſhall
 double them for number, and for
 learning, piety, induſtry, and the
 love of peace, exceed them incompara-
 bly. So as his party which he glorieth
 ſo much in will ſcarcely deſerve to be
 named the ſame day. And if he com-
 pare their persecutions, the ſufferings
 of his ſuppoſed Confessors will appear
 to be but flea-bitings in compariſon of
 theirs.

But after all this the greateſt diſpa-
 rity remaineth yet untouched, that is
 in the cauſe of their ſufferings. *The one*
suffered for ſaith and the other for
ſaction. If he had contented himſelf
 to have reſted in poſitive expreſſions,
 of learned and pious and peaceable, &c.
 he had had no answer to this particu-
 lar from me but ſilence. It is the duty
 of a *Controvertiſt* to examine the
 merits

merits of the cause, not of the persons.
 But his superlative expressions did draw
 me unwillingly to do this right to the
Orthodox and Genuine Sons of the
 Church of *England*. I will add but
 one word more, that we have seen but
 little fruits of their peaceable disposi-
 tions hitherto, but the contrary that
 they have made all places to become
 shambles of Christians. God grant
 that we may find them more peaceable
 for the future.

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